

A STUDY OF  
CONFORMITY BEHAVIOUR AS RELATED  
TO ANXIETY AND OTHER  
PERSONALITY VARIABLES

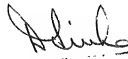
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THESIS  
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE  
OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
PSYCHOLOGY  
IN  
THE UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD

*Supervisor*  
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1973

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled  
"A Study Of Conformity Behaviour As Related To Anxiety  
And Other Personality Variables ", by Km. Shakti Adaval,  
was conducted under my supervision, and constitutes her  
own work.

  
(D. SINHA) 17/9/73

### Acknowledgements

The author wishes to express her grateful thanks to Prof. D. Sinha, Head of the Department of Psychology, University of Allahabad, for his able guidance in conducting this study. But for his keen interest in all phases of the study and his patience in seeing the work through, this work could not have been completed.

She is thankful to Dr. A.K. Singh, Head of the Psychology Department, Ranchi University, for making the laboratory and library facilities available to her. Dr. R.C. Tripathi helped a great deal with the analysis of results for which the author is indebted to him. She is thankful to the staff and members of the Psychology Departments of the Universities of Allahabad and Ranchi for their help given from time to time.

Dr. A.K. Verma, Dr. Meera Verma, Km. Pushpa Shukla, Km. Sarita Upadhyay, Mr. J.K. Sinha and Mr. R.K. Sahay helped the author and acted as confederates at various stages of the study. She wishes to express her heartiest thanks to them.

The author is also grateful to all the students who acted as subjects for their cooperation.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century civilization is standing at cross-roads with different alternative pathways to choose from. One can either go along with the angry young men, hippies and young rebels in the search for the so-called 'originality', one can conform to the traditional pattern and look down upon the traveller taking the other path or one can even take mid-positions. The pressures are increasing in every direction and so are the conflict and dilemma of man.

The histories of literature and philosophy are replete with references to problems of individuality, liberty, freedom and originality. John Donne has pointed out the essential individuality of man in his society. "Each man is an island all by himself", he says. D.H. Lawrence in his works has also emphasized the loneliness of the human beings and, therefore, their right to behave as they want to. A man, according to Lawrence, is born alone, lives, enjoys, suffers and dies alone. Even in their ecstatic moments of union individuals remain basically apart.

How much should the individual have his freedom and how far should he adhere to the norms of his society has been a concern of politicians also. Whereas individual freedom is completely curbed in dictatorship, in democracy it is the voice of the majority and not that of the individual which is paramount. The individual freedom, therefore, suffers. The emphasis on individuality in the Gandhian thought has led to the rise of the concept of Sarvedaya. The society should provide individual with every facility to develop the various facets of his personality according to the Gandhian thought.

The world is powerful and nature is omnipotent but blind. Russell has pointed out that in an alien and inhuman world also man can preserve his aspiration. "In spite of Death, the mark and seal of the parental control, Man is yet free, during his brief years, to examine, to criticise, to know, and in imagination to create. To him alone in this world with which he is acquainted, this freedom belongs; and in this lies his superiority to the resistless forces that control his outward life." Russell, 1929). But along with this freedom comes responsibility. Sartre says: "What happens to me happens through me." Since man has the freedom to choose he is also responsible for his choice. Freedom without a sense of responsibility can lead mankind astray. (Sartre, 1956).

The individualism of post-World War II has led to the breaking up of many social institutions. "We shall not conform ! is the slogan of the angry young men, hippies and the young rebels. Going against the traditional pattern, rejecting everything that is accepted by others, they think that they are giving birth to a new movement simply by not conforming to the norms of the society. While they reject the codes and norms of the larger society, it appears that they still subscribe to the principles and rules of their hippy society and to that extent they also conform to a norm.

Looking at the outcome of unrestrained freedom, Sartre's ideas on freedom and responsibility become potent. How far should the individual be allowed to express his freedom ? This brings us to the other side of the picture that is coloured by

conformity, norms and traditions. A proper balance between conformity and independence is essential. Too much conformity can retard human progress but at the same time too much independence or freedom can break up a society. Individual freedom must not be destroyed but at the same time cultural patterns must be preserved and extended by conforming to norms.

Human life being group ridden, groups give birth to sub-groups and in this process of multiplication of groups conformity becomes an important factor. The problems of society often center around persons who do not conform to group norms. Conformity and non-conformity along with conflict provide the most fertile soil for human research.

An adequate understanding of the human social behaviour requires the simultaneous study of the nature of social influence and the cause of individual variations in susceptibility to that influence. In the hope to learn more about the complex factors determining human behaviour modern psychology is making extensive use of experiments connected with conformity in real life situations. The flickering flame of this search is made steady by the hope that light thrown on psychological aspects of conformity might give us some insight into the problems of angry young generation breaking away from the rest of the world.

#### Brief Statement of the Problem

Various investigations agree in showing that there are extremely large and consistent individual differences in the amount of conformity behaviour shown. This leads to a belief

in the existence of stable and enduring conformity tendencies in people - an interpersonal response trait of conformity proneness. Within any given society each person develops a distinctive pattern of interpersonal response traits that characterize his social conduct. These traits are consistent and stable response dispositions that channel the behaviour of the individual in a variety of social situations. When we refer to an interpersonal disposition as trait we emphasize that it describes something distinctive about the individual. The situation has some influence on the behaviour related with this trait. Some situations are especially conformity producing and every person displays some conformity behaviour in those situations. But some individuals show more conformity in a wide variety of situations. This leads us to the inference that such characteristic behaviour is the expression of a trait of conformity in the individual.

What then are the determiners of this trait ? Personality, past experience and social roles are considered important determinants. Past experience and learning give a person practice with conformity situations and attitudes toward conformity are developed. In the process of socialization the individual learns more and more about conformity behaviour. He comes to know when and to what he should conform. Role expectations play an important part in conformity behaviour as is evident from the analysis of more conformity being demanded from girls than from boys in most cultural settings. But the most important of determinants is the personality make-up of the individual. Multiple measures

including objective tests, personality inventories and projective tests for diverse samples offer compelling evidence that certain personality characteristics are associated with the tendency to conform or to remain independent under group pressure. This becomes more clear when we look at some of the studies.

Hardy (1957) studied the effect of affiliative motivation and social support upon conformity and attitude change. The sample consisted of college males. The results indicated conformity to be a joint function of affiliative motivation and conditions of social support with roughly similar but less significant results for attitude change. Samelson (1957) studied conformity behaviour under two conditions - full conflict condition and reduced conflict condition. He found that in the full conflict condition need for achievement and social approach were found to be negatively related to conformity behaviour, though weakly. Krebs (1958) taking a sample of 36 undergraduate male subjects studied two factors in relation to conformity behaviour - age of independence training and need for achievement. He found that subjects with low need for achievement and late independence training conformed to a greater extent. The two factors operated in a synergistic fashion. Sherif (Sherif & Sherif, 1956) making use of autokinetic phenomenon found that when an individual faced a relatively unstructured stimulus situation he established a range and a norm within that range. When the individual worked with others in the same situation the ranges and norms of the various individuals tended to converge. A range and norm peculiar

to that group was developed. Sinha (1952) studied the effect of a social factor in perception. Using the spiral illusion he introduced group effect by majority suggestion. When the suggestion was given the individual scores tended to pool around the arbitrary group standard. There was a significant tendency to conform to the arbitrary group norm. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) made a detailed study of personality correlates of conformity behaviour. He found conformity to be related to intelligence, ego-strength, confidence, interest patterns, self-conception and conventionality. Costanzo (1970) administered a selfblame scale on 490 subjects and found that conformity and selfblame were highly interrelated processes. Mann (1959) has reviewed the literature on conformity and personality. He reported that extroversion and adjustment were negatively related to conformity. Conservatives were more conforming and there was slight indication that dominance was negatively related to conformity behaviour.

The present study deals with conformity behaviour and some of its related personality variables. The study seeks to determine whether the personality variables are related to conformity behaviour in the predicted manner. The relationship of conformity is studied with nine personality variables : anxiety, intelligence, conservatism-radicalism, conventionality, confidence, dominance-submissiveness, group-dependency, ego-strength and shyness. The rationale of the selection of these personality variables would be worked out later on. An attempt is made to find out the degree and direction of the relationship

between conformity and each personality variable separately. An attempt is also made to find out if there are any clear out sex differences in terms of conformity behaviour. Before coming to the rationale of the problem and hypotheses, the central concepts involved in this study are explained.

### Conformity

The problem of conformity has been one of the foremost concerns of social workers, teachers, law-regulators, creative artists and above all psychologists. The widespread effect of conformity in all spheres of life leads to a keen investigation of the problem. It is necessary before proceeding to find out what conformity exactly means. According to the dictionary conformity implies an initial difference which is moulded into similarity or sameness. It presupposes a model or standard serving as a mould to which conformist adheres. His attitude is one of considered and voluntary submission, adaptation and compliance, his purpose is to bring about a harmony of the self with the model. It is assumed first that the conformist is plastic and active, the model rigid, passive, inert and second, that the conformist is always an individual or minority, the model always a majority, community or a group, with its folkways, conventions, institutions and mores. These assumptions however, are, not always true. Occasions arise, especially under conditions of crisis and change such as great natural catastrophes, important inventions such as the automatic machinery, or political revolutions such as the Bolshevik revolution, when the standard or model is an individual or minority.



The term conformity is often confused with uniformity and conventionality but they can be differentiated. The dictionary meaning of the term uniformity implies sameness, consistency and not changing in form or character. Uniform attitudes and actions widely found in a society can not be equated with conforming behaviour. The belief by most people in our society that the earth is round is no evidence of conformity. No social pressure is involved. Conformity denotes yielding to group pressure. That high degree of uniformity in social beliefs, values and practices may exist is not alone a sufficient criterion of conformity. Various reasons can account for common attitudes and actions widely found in society. Such uniformity may derive from many sources quite unrelated to social pressures.

Similarly conventionality and conformity, though closely related, can be differentiated. The dictionary meaning of the term conventionality implies dependence on practice established by tacit consent of the majority, not spontaneous, sincere or original, having an agreed meaning. Conventions are often followed without conflict. Conformity involves social pressure and conflict. Demonstrations of sheer conventionality can not be simply equated with conformity. Conventional ways of acting represent established solutions to problems, conventions are well-oiled grooves of social conduct which are provided ready-made and often followed with nominal conflict. Uniformity and conventionality do, of course, result partly from conformity. Though the conformist tends

to hold more conventional values the reverse is not always true. Highly conventional individuals may often be quite able to resist conformity pressures.

The essence of conformity, in distinction to uniformity and conventionality, lies in yielding to group pressures. "As the individual acts in interpersonal behaviour events, in face-to-face contact with other group members, he is often placed under group pressure to conform - to judge, believe, act in agreement with the judgment, belief and action of the group" (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962). For there to be conformity there must be conflict between those forces which tend to lead the individual to act, value and believe in one way and those pressures emanating from the society or group which tend to lead him in another way. Zadrognny (1959) in his dictionary of Social Sciences defines conformist as "a person who usually observes the norms of conduct for a given group." Conformity has been defined as "the public avowal of a belief or attitude at variance with one's prior position, which avowal tends to correspond to the position approved by the group in which the avowal occurs. It may occur as an accompaniment of attitude change based upon a shift in perceived social reality. It may also occur in the absence of attitude change in situations where it is believed to be instrumental to the satisfaction of such motives as sex, achievement, affiliation, power or hunger." (Hardy, 1957).

The pressures from the group which lead the individual to conform can be implicit as well as explicit. The group need

not overtly coerce or threaten the individual. When an individual is placed in a conflicting situation, there are two main courses of action open to him : he may announce his own deviant judgement, thus remaining independent of the group consensus or announce his agreement with the group judgement, thus conforming. Distinction can further be made between "expedient" and "true" conforming. In the former the individual outwardly agrees with the group but remains in inward disagreement, whereas in the latter, the individual is brought to agree with the group both inwardly and outwardly.

Cultural stability and community behaviour depend to a large extent on the element of conformity. The reactions of individuals to the social institutions of their community show a different distribution from that characteristic of most psychological phenomena. Instead of fitting into the pattern of normal probability curve, with the frequencies gradually tapering off in either direction, from the mode or measure of central tendency, conformity behaviour tends to take the shape of J-curve (Allport, 1934). There is an asymmetrical piling up of most cases at one end, the conformity end of the distribution, with a small number of cases showing the opposite type of behaviour. Allport's examples include the reactions of automobile drivers to a red light, the time of arrival of employees at their work, and the performance of ritualistic acts upon entering a place of worship. The observed variations in degree of conformity have been explained in a number of different ways. In the face to face group situation the major factors responsible may be personality characteristics, group pressure exerted differentially, differential perception of the amount of pressure and greater attraction of the group to some members than to others.

Most individuals conform more or less closely and there are only a few deviants. Allport's J-curve represents the first quantitative description of conformity behaviour. Majority of the group members reveal the social attitude in question and are put together at one end; the curve for the rest of the group tapers off to the other end, the degree of deviation increasing and the number of cases decreasing as the curve moves toward opposite extremity. Conformity behaviour is always related to a norm or reference point. There are different values and norms prevailing in different groups. Standards and judgements are subject to shift with shifts in reference groups. We can get different J-curves for different groups with the peak of each distribution falling on a different category and representing the focal value of that group.

Non-conformity is relatively rare in cultural settings, because the range of permissive variation is wide in most of the situations. Variations in behaviour are not identical with deviation. Ranges or scales of tolerable behaviour also differ from group to group. "Behaviour is reacted to as deviant when it approaches or exceeds the limits of the range of tolerable behaviour" (Sherif and Sherif, 1956). Since group norms represent standardized generalizations, group norms typically pertain to a range of behaviour varying in scope according to the importance of a particular norm in the group's scheme of things. Few persons refuse to conform. When they do rebel it is only against a tiny part of the total complex. The person who rebels against the religious and moral system of his time makes his appeal in the linguistic patterns of his people, uses established symbols

and employs accepted aesthetic standards in heightening the response of his followers.

### Non-Conformity

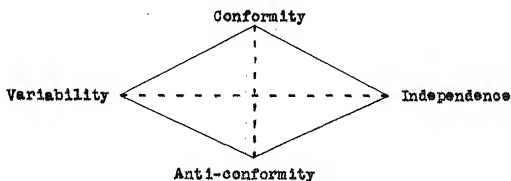
The problem of conformity is made all the more complex by the fact that all non-conformity is not the same. One type of non-conformity is counterformity in which the individual actively opposes the group and being negativistic and hostile, compulsively dissents from it. The counterformist not only resists having his judgements and actions move toward those of the group, his judgements and actions tend to be repelled by group norms. He seeks to widen disagreement between himself and the group. The counterformist may thus be driven at all costs to repudiate the group's beliefs and actions even when he perceives that the group is right. The cognitions and actions of the counterformist are just as surely and predictably being determined by the group as are those of the conformist. The difference is that for the counterformist the group serves as a negative reference group.

Conformity is closely related to suggestion. Influence is called suggestion and conformity is the behaviour that results because of this influence. There is considerable individual difference in the extent of conformity to the suggestion. Whereas some individuals come very close to the standard, some remain a little away from it, and some do not conform at all.

Aveling and Hargreaves (1921) differentiate between ideomotor suggestion and prestige suggestion. In ideomotor suggestion the suggestion comes from the nature of the material or of the act previously performed. In prestige suggestion it

depends upon the relation of the individual to some other individual or group. Large numbers and groups as well as eminent individuals have prestige effect. Aveling and Hargreaves (1921) suggested to their subjects that their hands would remain rigid and found that about 46% of them responded positively; in the case of hand leviation 42% accepted the suggestion. In suggestion experiments an interesting phenomenon of negative or contrary suggestion enters, some of the subjects respond in a manner opposite to that suggested by the experimenter. In prestige suggestion the curve is U-shaped, indicating that the subjects tend to fall in two groups, the suggestible and negatively suggestible. This has important implications in social psychology especially in the fields of advertisement and propaganda.

Willis has developed a diamond model of conformity behaviour (1964).



Pure conformity behaviour is defined as a completely consistent attempt on the part of the individual to make his response congruent with normative expectations of a specified group.

Pure independence gives zero weight to perceived normative expectations. Pure anti-conformity is a behaviour in response to normative expectations but it is directly antithetical to norm prescription. Pure variability behaviour is defined as invariable change of response regardless of perceived normative expectation. It might be considered as self-anticonformity. This type of behaviour is very rare in natural situations. The position of the individual in the diamond space represents the degree to which his responses are composite of the four modes.

Independence of judgement implies that the individual is able to make his own judgement, taking or leaving the group, as his own sense will direct him. An individual who shows independence "is neither unduly susceptible to the pressures of the group nor unduly driven by the forces of alienation from the group." ( Kreeh, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962 ).

#### Distinction Between Conformity and Independence

The main trouble concerning the conformity experiments lies in the fact that the distinction between conformity and independence is not stable and well-defined. On the first level the term conformity is contaminated by value judgements on the issue with regard to which conformity is diagnosed. On a slightly more sophisticated level those who agree with majority are called conformists, those who agree with minority, independents.

On a higher level of insight conformity is regarded as the reduction of diversity through social influence processes.

Here serious doubts arise in the mind about the criterion of the distinction. Some other forces are also at work to produce conformity. Two types of explanatory concepts can be used: the impact of an absent reference group and some enduring personality characteristics. But neither of them are adequate to predict conformity behaviour with a certainty. Situational factors can prove powerful enough to break through habitual response patterns, but the power of enduring personality attributes cannot be denied.

Having analysed all the explanatory concepts Jahoda (1964) chooses 'cathexis' as the most applicable term, but the writer uses cathexis in a broader sense. The most significant point in conformity behaviour is that the individual should care very much about the issue at stake. Jahoda regards emotional and intellectual involvement in the issue a crucial and critical attribute of behaviour.

Taking a concrete example, Jahoda (1964) has shown that eight types of processes may take place. The issue was that of capital punishment and it was assumed that, before some external influence was brought to bear, the people took the position implied in the law of the land that capital punishment was the proper punishment for certain crimes. After some influence had been brought to bear on the people, some adhered to their old position and some had changed. There were eight resulting processes, the first four occurred in the persons who had an emotional and intellectual investment in the issue. Process (a) designated a person who, though reached by the campaign did not change his mind and was at ease with himself about the final



position he took. This was independent dissent. Process (b) implied a person who adhered to his original position but felt less comfortable with it than he used to. This was undermined independence. Process (c) described a person who had changed his mind as a result of pressures in the campaign. He had restructured the manner in which he saw the issue. This could be called independent consent. Process (d) implied taking a stand against one's own conviction there was no cathexis to the new position. Private opinion remained what it was. This was the process of compliance.

The next four positions were taken by persons for whom the issue of capital punishment was either very much on the periphery of their life-space or never in it. Process (e) was one where such a person did not change his position and did not feel any conflict about it. This was compulsive resistance. Process (f) referred to expedient resistance. This process - no investment in the issue, no change and conflict - was not very common to be seen and its explanation lay in rather complex relationships. Process (g) may well have been the most frequent one when there was no investment in the issue and the position was changed without creating conflict. "This is conformity in the narrow sense of the word" (Jahoda, 1964). Finally, process (h) referred to expedient conformity - with little, if any, investment in the issue the position was changed, but conflict resulted. These eight processes provided a fairly widespread pattern for the study of conformity behaviour.

### Conformity and Community

There are certain reasons that make the individual member willing to accept the customary behaviour of his community. Dissenters are of course there but they are relatively rare. First of all there is the phenomenon of prestige suggestion. Aveling and Hargreaves (1921) call 'the tendency to believe what one is told', prestige suggestion. Prestige suggestion depends upon the relation of individual to some other individual or group of individuals. Suggestions, whether direct or indirect, coming from eminent persons, persons of outstanding ability and authority tend to be accepted. Large numbers of people also have prestige effect. Secondly, the individual often knows no other customs than those of his own community. This ignorance leaves him with no alternative and he has to accept the customary ways. Thirdly, an individual who does not practice the customary behaviour related to the social and economic life of the group will soon be regarded as outside the system of reciprocal rights and duties upon which life in the community may depend. And lastly, allied to the third reason is the fourth one that there may be punishment for transgression. This punishment may be violent or coercive in nature or may take the form of ridicule.

In any community there are role specifications, role expectations and role conflicts. The marginal man is "one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two not merely different, but antagonistic cultures" (Stonequist, 1937). Marginal men occupy an ambiguous position between two culture groups with contrasting ways. They are motivated to affiliate with both groups and are fully accepted by neither. Severe conflict often

develops because the role behaviours appropriate in the two groups are antagonistic. Criminal groups, social climbers and immigrants are examples of marginal persons. The professional thief is a marginal man and cannot avoid role conflict because the norms of the larger society are at odds with the norms of the society of thieves.

In the process of transition conformity to new ideas and values becomes effective. As Lynd & Lynd (1937) have described in outlining the transition of Middletown, Middletown can be lived in and described only because of the presence of large elements of repetition and coherence in the culture. Around the patterns of customary acceptance and rejection certain types of personality develop. Those persons who most nearly exemplify the local stereotypes thrive as 'successful' and 'belong' while dropping away behind them are others who embody less adequately the values by which Middletown lives, coming to the community misfits who live meagerly in the shadow of frustration and unpopularity.

A proper balance between conformists and independents helps a society to progress and prosper. Whereas too much conformity can stagnate the progress of a society, too much deviation can break it up. It is true that the creative artists - the nonconformists in the spheres of art, literature and technology - achieve great heights for their society. But at the same time the steady conformist is necessary for the preservation of norms and culture. Conformity and independence must be in relatively balanced proportions for a prosperous and flourishing society.

Originality and creativity are more closely associated with personal needs for autonomy than for conformity. How can one be creative if one mistrusts one's own ideas or kills them at birth on observing that they are deviant, rather than letting them grow up? At the same time human beings are so inter-dependent that a great deal of conformity to norms is essential. The dilemma is as old as civilization. If a group or society is to provide both reasonable stability and reasonable opportunity for effective creative change, it must demand close conformity to certain clear and unambiguous norms on one hand and provide its members with temporary expedients that might well be improved upon, on the other hand. One must conform but one must at the same time be aware of the right to deviate.

Why do people conform to rules embodied in norms? Answering the question Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1967) say that there are shared sanctions incorporated in many rules; there is motivation to conform because of external incentives labelled 'compliance'. Purely compliant conformity does not occur in private. It occurs only when it is observable to others who might apply sanctions. But we often conform to norms even in strict privacy - when there is no possibility of other people rewarding or punishing us for conformity or non-conformity. The norms have become internalized, they now function not only as a shared rule but also as an individual rule.

Although it is often threatening to perceive oneself as a non-conformist, it is equally uncomfortable and frightening to perceive oneself as being merely a conformist. Most of us like to believe that we conform to group norms only because they are

correct and not because of our dislike for being different. The latter motivation suggests weakness and lack of independence.

Analyzing the subjective reports of persons who yielded appreciably to group pressure in a modified Asch type of experiment, Tuddenham and McBride (1959) found that many of the same subjects who yielded substantially also expressed attitudes of independence. If the individual perceives a number of attitudes or positions intermediate between his own attitude and that of the group, he can move an appreciable distance in the direction of the group norm but still be aware of not moving the entire distance.

#### Operational Criterion of Conformity Behaviour

The operational criterion of conformity which underlies most empirical research on the topic is the private and/or public agreement of an individual with an opinion which he had not held before it was presented to him. The existence of this phenomenon, is of course, the basis of all human society and undoubtedly accounts for the direction of the overwhelming majority of human behaviour. Laboratory studies and experiments which ingeniously use real-life settings in a controlled manner, have demonstrated that when people were exposed to social influence; they tended to yield to them. Barker and Wright (1954) in their ecological studies of the behaviour of children in the Middlewest, had shown that 95 % of the behaviour of children during an ordinary day was determined by behaviour settings in which they found themselves.

There are certain cognitive, motivational and emotional processes that underlie the phenomenon of conformity. The phenomenon of conformity can be explained by taking help of two cognitive theories. Balance theory is a theory of cognitive consonance primarily associated with the name of Heider (1958). This theory defines a state of balance existing in a cognitive system to the extent that the elements of the system form units which have non-contradictory relationships. This relationship is one in which each element fits with, is compatible with and is harmonious with the other elements. According to this theory unbalanced cognitive systems tend to shift toward a state of balance. This shift may occur in various ways. Conformity is one way of achieving balance.

In the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) also the essential principle is the tendency toward cognitive consistency or consonance. The theory states that there may exist 'non-fitting' relations among cognitive elements giving rise to dissonance, this cognitive dissonance creates pressures to reduce dissonance and to avoid an increase in it. The results of such pressures are manifested by change in cognition, behaviour changes and selective exposure to new information and opinion. In the group pressure situation the person experiences cognitive dissonance. Two cognitions "... are in dissonant relation if, considering those two alone the obverse of one element would follow from the other" (Festinger, 1957). The belief that all men are equal in the sight of God and the belief that low castes should not be allowed to worship in a temple are in dissonant relation since the obverse of the second belief

follows logically from the first. The theory of cognitive dissonance further holds that dissonance "... being psychologically uncomfortable, will motivate the person to try to reduce the dissonance and achieve consonance."

In conformity experiments cognitive dissonance is felt because of the obvious discrepancy between the private judgement and the group judgement. Various ways can be taken to reduce the dissonance and the situation is interpreted differently depending upon the fact whether the individual will conform or not. A person can adopt the mode of blaming himself for a cognitive resolution, the self-blaming leading later on to conformity. The individual can also blame the group for the discrepancy leading to resistance of group pressure. Further, the individual tries to reconcile the discrepant judgements, explaining away the disagreement, accommodating both his judgement and that of the group. He can end either as a conformist or an independent. Discrepancy might be accounted for by simply accepting the fact of individual differences. A different mode of resolution of the conflict is to avoid evidence of discrepancy. The subject can isolate himself from the group or from the facts. In rare cases conflict is resolved by coming to infer that deception is being practised and the experiment is a hoax.

The level of motivation and the particular character of aroused wants play an important role in conformity behaviour. Individual will conform or deviate if he perceives that by doing so he will satisfy urgent wants. Frequently wants for acceptance and prestige and for avoidance of rejection by the

group, influence conformity behaviour. Greater conformity is found when groups are more attractive. Harvey & Conalavi (1960) found the second highest member in status to be most conforming. Often conformity is resorted to for ulterior ends. One can gain economic security and advancement by slavishly agreeing with the boss of the concern. An individual may show independence, because he expects reward for it. He sees the greater chance of the satisfaction of his wants that way. The counterformist may gratify aggressive and exhibitionistic wants by his behaviour. One of the most important intrinsic aims involved in conformity behaviour is the want to be right.

Group pressures on the individual can arouse him emotionally. On observing the discrepancy in judgements the individual might feel dejected, depressed and isolated, thus becoming more susceptible to conformity. If the sharp discrepancy is threatening to the individual he might develop anxiety and might conform to allay anxiety. Conformity can serve a defensive function reducing and at times avoiding anxiety. Emotion is generally accompanied by a disorganization of cognitive processes. An individual is less capable of making cool, considered rational judgements and thus becomes more susceptible to conformity. But in some cases emotional state might make the individual more resistant to group judgement, his cognitive process undergoing rigidification and narrowing. The individual differences play a large role in governing the manner in which emotional arousal affects conformity behaviour.



Sinha (1952) found very interesting introspective reports from his subjects when they found their judgements to be different from the group standard. One subject said: 'My left eye is weak. That may have something to do with it.' Another one said: 'Well, they are very low. I wonder if my eyes are O.K.'. When the judgement of one subject coincided with the group judgement he showed obvious satisfaction in his tone: "Exactly twenty." These introspective reports show that non-conformity on the part of the subject arouses him emotionally. Conformity is satisfying. Sherif (Sherif & Sherif, 1956) also found that subjects felt satisfied when they agreed with others. Non-conformity makes the individual anxious, depressed and worried, conformity reassures the person.

#### Measurement of Conformity

The systematic and quantitative study of conformity behaviour gained impetus with the classic experiments of Asch (1952). In one of his basic experiment groups of seven to nine students were assembled and given the line judgement task. Subjects had to choose out of the three lines shown on a card, the line which was equal to the single line shown on the left side of the card. Actually all but one of the students were confederates of the experimenter who had been instructed beforehand to give unanimously incorrect responses on certain critical trials. It was so arranged that the one naive subject sat near the end of the row, giving his judgement after most of the group members had voiced their opinions. The line stimuli were chosen by Asch so that the bogus group judgement was grossly different from the correct judgements. One hundred and twenty three naive

subjects were tested on 12 critical judgements. Of the total number of judgements given 37% showed conformity to the wrong judgement of the group. The control group made virtually no errors. Marked individual differences in response to the majority pressure were found ranging from complete independence of the majority by some individuals to complete yielding on all 12 critical trials by other individuals. After each session the naive subject was interviewed. None of the subjects reported that he had wholly disregarded the judgement of the majority. For most of the subjects, the discrepancy between their judgement and that of the majority created a difficulty which they localized in themselves. They tended to question and doubt their own judgement not that of the majority. Most of the subjects expressed their desire to agree with the majority. One subject said: "I felt funny. Everything was going against me." One of the strongly independent subjects said: "Despite everything there was a lurking fear that in some way I did not understand, I might be wrong; fear of exposing myself as inferior in some way. It is more pleasant if one is really in agreement." Statements such as these clearly reveal the pressure that the group can create even when it is wrong. Majority judgement or group judgement demands conformity to it. One wants to agree and even when one is not agreeing verbally, inner conflict is experienced.

In order to avoid the uneconomical use of confederates necessary in the Asch method, Crutchfield (1954) devised a different technique. Five subjects at a time were seated side

by side in individual booths screened from one another. Each booth had a panel with rows of numbered switches which the person used to signal his judgement on items presented on slides, projected on the wall in front of the group. Also displayed on his panel were signal lights which indicated what judgement the other four members were giving to the item. The booths were designated by the letters A, B, C, D and E and subjects were instructed to respond one at a time in that order. They were not permitted to talk during the session. In fact there were no electrical connections between the panels and the signals were delivered by the experimenter from a master control panel. Thus subjects were grossly deceived. On certain critical items the experimenter made it appear that all four members - A through D - agreed on an answer which<sup>was</sup> clearly at variance with the correct answer. The subject might have resolved the conflict either by giving the same judgement as the group's, thus conforming, or by giving his own answer, thus remaining independent.

This standard technique had been used by Crutchfield (1954) in studies on more than 600 people all of them above average in intelligence, education and occupational status. Substantial amounts of yielding were produced by the group pressure even though the bogus group consensus was manifestly wrong. Many individuals could be pressured into yielding on opinion and attitude items, even those having personal or social relevance to them. Yielding, in general, was far greater on difficult items than on easy ones (Crutchfield, 1954). The

greater yielding on difficult items probably resulted from the lack of certainty that the individual experienced about his judgement. Certainty reduced conformity. Large individual differences were reported in the amount of yielding. Over an hour-long session with about 50 pressure items presented the average amount of yielding maintained its level, but changes were also possible. Sometimes after the yielding session when individuals were retested privately a major part of the original yielding effect disappeared but some effect persisted. The person tended to revert to his own judgement but some changes might have been there.

The two techniques have a basic difference. In the Asch (1952) procedure subjects were engaged in an interpersonal behaviour event and face to face contact was there. In Crutchfield (1954) technique subjects were somewhat removed from each other, communication was indirect. When identical judgement items were used in the two types of situations, the average amount of conformity was found to be greater in Asch type group (Deutsch and Gerard, 1955). But the kind of yielding that occurred and its psychological significance were the same in the two situations.

Both the Asch and Crutchfield techniques are artificial procedures and may differ from real life conformity pressures. Isolation of the laboratory subjects is important. Subject is not allowed to discuss the issue with friends and relatives as in normal life to gain more information or to withhold his judgement. In real life these limitations need not apply but

still at times the real life situations have a close resemblance to laboratory situations. The person may be physically or socially isolated; he might not have the opportunity to discuss the issue with others or he might not avail it due to sheer negligence and weakness of will. The issues are more complex in real life than in the laboratory situation. Even in real life an individual can be forced to take a decisive stand; he might have to abandon the luxury of not taking decisions. In conformity experiments there is more reliance on some or the other form of deception, in real life also leaders might try to deceive the followers but the deception practised in the laboratory situation is more.

### Anxiety

A number of personality variables have been studied in relation to conformity behaviour. Anxiety is one of the important personality factors closely related to conformity behaviour. Before elaborating the relationship between conformity and anxiety the importance of anxiety requires being discussed and the concept elucidated.

Ours is the age of anxiety. The very fact that man has the freedom to exercise his right of choice makes him all the more responsible for his actions. Anxiety has its source in the contradictory nature of man. He is on the one hand finite, is involved like animals in contingencies and necessities of life but on the other hand he also has freedom. Man being both bound and free, both limited and limitless, is bound to feel anxious. Anxiety is the inevitable concomitant of the paradox of freedom and finiteness in which man is involved.

Starting with these early conceptions regarding anxiety as a vague and diffused feeling, through gradual development anxiety has become the most prominent, pervasive and profound phenomenon in psychology as well as in daily living.

"Anxiety is the most prominent mental characteristic of occidental civilization", R.R. Willoughby asserts, as reported by May (1960). He presents statistical evidence in three fields of social pathology - suicide, divorce and mental disease rate and believes that these may reasonably be understood as reactions to anxiety. These three forms of sociopathology can be due to other motivations than anxiety but they indicate radical social upheavals in society involving psychological and emotional trauma. May (1960) regards these three as symptoms and products of traumatically changing state of culture and anxiety as a product and symptom of the cultural state. May (1960) concludes that ours is "the age of anxiety".

A good deal of research has been done concerning the effects of anxiety, considering it as an enduring personality trait, upon performance in learning, perception and problem solving behaviour as well as in interpersonal relations and processes.

In addition to anxiety's nuclear meaning probably acceptable to every one, that anxiety is a fearful, unpleasant feeling state with some physiological concomitants, there are many differences and nuances in the use of the term. Sometimes it is used as an altogether empirical construct, a desirable label for a class of related responses or operations whose constituents are

unpleasant feeling and the like. Sometimes, it is also used as a hypothetical construct which cannot be measured directly but which gives rise to observable behaviour.

The psychoanalytic theory of anxiety begins with the observation that for some people the intensification of a particular drive constitutes a psychic danger. The nature and origin of this danger are to be sought in the individual histories of such persons. In anticipation of this danger such people characteristically distort the recognition and expression of the drive in question by means of defence mechanisms. Anxiety is defined as the psychological mechanism whereby the current intensification of a danger drive results in the elicitation of defences. The term "Signal anxiety" refers to this function specifically. Anxiety is a reaction to the perception of an external threat or danger which is foreseen or expected by the individual. According to Freud (1936): "Anxiety is a reaction to a situation of danger. It is obviated by the ego's doing something to avoid that situation or withdrawing from it." Anxiety is, therefore, a theoretical construct which is anchored on the antecedent side to the intensification of a dangerous drive and on the consequent side to the rise of defensive behaviour. The term 'anxiety' may be applied regardless of whether the subjective experiencing factors and physiological stress symptoms play a minimal role or assume spectacular importance as they do in anxiety attacks. Anxiety operates automatically in many cases. It is not to be conceptualized as an ever present mood in normal well functioning adults. This view reserves the concept of

anxiety and defences for situations in which the danger has internal sources specifically a drive, and 'fear' for those in which threat originates in the external world.

In the beginning, Freud (1936) believed anxiety to be a consequence of the damming up of libidinal energy by repression. He later reversed the position and announced that anxiety is the cause of repression rather than its effect. He singled out anxiety as the crucial problem of behavioural and emotional disorders. The solution of the 'riddle' of anxiety must cast a flood of light upon our whole mental life. The analysis of anxiety reveals existence of specific quality of unpleasure, acts of discharge and perception of those acts. The last two points differentiate between anxiety and other similar states like mourning and pain. The latter do not have any motor manifestations and even if they have, the manifestation is not an integral part of the whole state but is distinct from it as being a result of it, or a reaction to it. "Anxiety, then, is a special state of unpleasure with acts of discharge along particular channels."

Unlike Freud, Horney, as reported by Sinha (1962), places anxiety prior to the instinctual drives. Impulses and desires do not become drive except as motivated by anxiety. The 'compulsive drives' of Horney are born of feelings of isolation. Helplessness, fear and hostility represent ways of coping with the world despite these feelings. They aim primarily not at satisfaction but at safety. Their compulsive character is due to the anxiety in their background, characterized by diffuseness,



uncertainty and helplessness towards threat. Sullivan, as reported by Sinha (1962) emphasized the interpersonal character of human behaviour. Anxiety arises in the locus of human behaviour. Other Neo-Freudians like Kardiner and Fromm (Sinha, 1962), have emphasized child training practices and the isolation of modern man in the emergence of anxiety. Certain aspects of modern life have created many sources of anxiety.

In learning theory anxiety is considered as an instance of secondary motivation and has the status of being a product as well as a producer of learning. Anxiety is a learned response, occurring to signals (conditioned stimuli) that have in the past been followed by injury or pain (unconditioned stimuli). Anxiety may effectively motivate human beings and its reduction may serve powerfully to reinforce behaviour that brings about such a state of 'relief' or 'security'. It serves the role of an activating and reinforcing agent. Anxiety has been widely used as an important variable in experimental investigations of learning.

In clinical psychology anxiety is conceived of as the cornerstone of all psychopathology. The most important symptoms in neuroses and psychoses are attempts to discharge its intolerable tensions or signs that the threat of anxiety has already been realized and the ego has at least in part disintegrated. Anxiety is considered to be normal when its intensity and character are not disorganizing and maladaptive.

#### Measurement of Anxiety

The first of the two conventional approaches to anxiety segregates the subjects with respect to anxiety level on the

basis of a questionnaire to which the subject responds with an introspective report of his own characteristic anxiety level and stress experiences. The second procedure produces a stress through fictitious reports of the subject's non-adequate performance on tasks which are presented as tests of intelligence or as other measures of adequacy. Sometimes these two procedures are employed jointly.

One of the most widely used measures of anxiety is Taylor (1951) Manifest Anxiety Scale (MAS). It was first used by J.A. Taylor in a study, in which extreme groups, very high or very low on the scale, were compared with respect to eyelid conditioning. It was assumed that the drive level (D) varies directly with the differing degrees of anxiety. Taylor found significantly more conditioned responses in the high anxiety group and interpreted this as an outcome of the higher drive level of this group. She pointed out that the effect of the drive might be either directly on performance or, by way of an influence on the habit strength increment resulting from each rewarded response, or both together.

Sinha (1961, 1968) developed his anxiety scale for the use on Indian samples following the lines of Taylor MAS. The Sinha Anxiety Scale has a total of 100 items to be checked 'yes' or 'no' by the subject. Sinha proceeded on the assumption that an individual shows anxiety in different situations. One may feel anxious in one particular situation and not feel anxious in another, but the person with a high anxiety level would tend to be anxious in a greater number of different situations as compared to a person with a low anxiety level.

Secondly, anxiety may manifest itself in physiological as well as psychological reactions. The Sinha Anxiety Scale is easy to administer and score, and provides a quick measure of the anxiety level of the individual.

According to Sinha (1962), in Indian society as a result of rapid change that is taking place in all the spheres of life and its concomitant stresses the feelings of anxiety and isolation are becoming prominent. The change has led to more competitiveness in the society in general. Old values and traditions are being attacked upon, producing a conflict in the values of the individual, and consequently an increase in the feelings of insecurity, isolation and anxiety. Anxiety is not only an important experimental variable but a prominent problem of modern life.

### Intelligence

Intelligence is another personality variable that has attracted the psychologists for a very long time and the interest is still there. It has played an important role in testing and in the development of psychological clinic. The number of definitions, theories and facts for and against these theories in the field of intelligence is to say the least of it, large.

It has been regarded as an important attribute of personality and its effects in learning, thinking, social behaviour, creativity etc., are always undergoing study.

Freeman (1965) has classified the diversity of definitions available in four major classes. In the first group are the

definitions that emphasize the adjustment or adaptation of the person to his total environment or aspects of it. "Intelligence is a general capacity of the individual consciously to adjust his thinking to new requirements."

The second type of definition stresses learning ability as the important feature in intelligence. The idea of intelligence being related to learning has interested a number of investigators. The general conclusion is that depending upon the material, a positive relationship exists between intelligence and ability to learn; but because of the extreme range of correlations found, the true relationship cannot be pointed out.

A third type of definition of intelligence has stressed the ability to carry on abstract thinking. "An individual is intelligent in proportion as he is able to carry on abstract thinking." Abstract concepts of intelligence are stressed.

Finally, there are broader definitions. They are more comprehensive because they combine and enlarge the other three types of definitions. Wechsler as reported by Freeman (1965) has defined intelligence comprehensively "Intelligence is the aggregate or global capacity of the individual to act purposefully, to think rationally and to deal effectively with his environment." Intelligence is viewed as a broad trait, a capacity covering the whole of intellectual behaviour.

Intelligence has been measured by Cattell and Eber (1962) using 16 P.F. Test. This test is based on the factor analytic

technique and it spans the domain of known measurable aspects of human personality, in terms of sixteen distinct, major dimensional subscales. The sixteen factors measured present a complete picture of the personality. Intelligence has been taken as one of the important personality factors. In this study the 16 P.F. Test is used for the measurement of intelligence.

According to Cattell and Eber (1962) cognitive function has on one end general intelligence and brightness and on the other end dullness and mental defect. A person who is intelligent has high, scholastic mental capacity, and capacity for abstract thinking. The measurement of intelligence has been shown to carry with it as a factor in the personality realms the ratings of conscientious, persevering, intellectual and cultured. Cattell's (Cattell and Eber, 1962) test does not measure intelligence 'per se' but the effects of the intellectual level on personality.

### Conservatism

Conservatism is one of the important personality traits in the study of attitudes and attitude change. The dictionary meaning of the term covers: keeping from decay or change or destruction, in general, opposing change. On the basis of an intensive study of the personality make-up of extreme political conservatives in America, it has been pointed out that conservatism in American society at least, is far more characteristic of social isolates, who are frustrated, submissive, timid and wanting in confidence. Conservative attitudes tend to

characterize the un-informed, the poorly educated and the unintelligent (McClosky, 1958).

The conservatives place extreme emphasis on order and duty, have affection for familiar, are characterized by the fear of change and the desire to forestall it, by the strong attachments to the symbols and rituals of in-group cultures, by the hope for an ordered and hierarchical society, and by unusual concern for law, stability and authority. All this is an expression of a personality pattern that has strong need for order and tidiness, that adjusts only with difficulty to changes in the environment, that cannot bear the uncertainty of questions left open and requires answers, that is made uncomfortable by the give and take of free enquiry and the open society, <sup>and that</sup> yearns for consensus, harmony of values, unequivocal definitions of norms and conclusive specification of the source of authority.

Cattell and Eber (1962) make use of the factor of Conservatism vs. Radicalism in an attempt to describe the person's temperament. This does not refer only to political leanings but to modes of experiencing and adapting to problems. Conservatives are less well informed, less inclined to experiment with problem situation and more inclined to moralize.

#### Conventionality

A closely related personality attribute is that of conventionality and practical mindedness as contrasted to Bohemianism; imagination and carelessness of practical matters. Individuals who are practical and conventional are concerned with facts and

practical needs. Usually the interests are narrowed to the immediate issue.

The dictionary meaning of the term 'conventionality' implies dependence on practice established by tacit consent of the majority, not spontaneous or sincere or original, <sup>and</sup> having an agreed meaning. Due to extreme care to proper and practical matters, there is a lack of spontaneous creativity. Such persons are sound, realistic, dependable and have practical judgement. They are earnest, concerned or worried but very steady.

This is an important personality factor assessing the extent of responsibility felt by the individual in his affairs. The serious practical concern with outer details is contrasted with internally autonomous thinking.

### Confidence

Confidence implies firm trust, fully assured expectation and surety in a person. An operational definition of confidence means the degree of sureness with which a response is made or an answer given and the subsequent feelings toward the correctness of the response or answer. An important personality attribute is confidence or! feeling of self-security as compared to guilt-proneness, timidity and insecurity (Cattell and Eber, 1962). Self-confidence, cheerfulness and resilience are characteristics of a tough, placid, expedient and self-assured individual. Such a person is free from cares and fears and is given to simple action. This dimension is related to the anxiety level of the subject. A person who is often anxious, worried and nervous

lacks any surety regarding the tasks that he has in his hand. A person who is confident and serene has, if nothing else, his belief in himself. An insecure and timid person might have everything but can never enjoy life because of the lack of trust and confidence in himself and objects and persons surrounding him. Confidence rules out weakness and implies firmness, surety and strength on a mental level.

### Dominance

The structure of personality is closely related to the interpersonal behaviour. A weak unsure person is likely to behave in one manner with others and a strong confident person in a totally different one. In interpersonal relationships one can be either submissive or dominant. These are primary personality traits which make the existence of leader and the led, possible. Dominance, according to the dictionary implies having commanding influence, being the most influential or conspicuous member or part or feature of something. Submission, on the other hand, means accepting without resistance the orders or treatment or lot met with, give way, yield to authority, fortune, insult, or conqueror etc. The dimension of submissiveness-dominance has close relationship with conformity behaviour. Conformists can be named 'yielders' or 'submitters'. Individuals having a submissive personality can easily yield to group pressure as they are used to yielding to someone or the other. For a dominant person, on the other hand, accepting group opinion or yielding to group judgement is rather difficult as it goes against his personality make-up.



Some primary interpersonal response traits have been tabled by Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962). Dominance-submissiveness is a trait under role dispositions category. A dominant person is assertive, self-confident, power-oriented, tough, strong-willed, order-giving or directive leader. Ascendancy and dominance though highly correlated are treated as separate traits. The ascendant person does not necessarily act so as to dominate others. In 16 P.F. Test, however, ascendancy is taken as synonymous to dominance. A dominant person is assertive, self-assured and independent-minded. He tends to be austere, a law to himself, hostile and disregards authority. A submissive person, on the other hand, tends to give way to others, to be docile, and to conform (Gottell and Eber, 1962).

Dominance is a trait observed in many animals including man. Pecking order in chickens is a dominance hierarchy. The modification of the social dominance hierarchy in a group of monkeys produced by cortical lesions has been studied at Yale University (Rovold, Mirsky and Fribram, 1954). Having determined the dominance hierarchy among eight young male monkeys an extensive, bilateral lesion was produced in the temporal lobes of the most dominant monkey, Dave. After operation the monkey became submissive to all the monkeys and Zeke now became the most dominant monkey. Zeke, and after him Reva, were subjected to the brain operation. The results indicated that interference with the normal functioning of the nervous system produced marked changes in the social behaviour of the monkeys and these changes were in a large measure limited and modulated by the normal 'interpersonal

response traits' of the monkeys. The pattern of social interaction within the group to which the animal is returned after surgery and the length of pre-operative time the relationship had existed, may be important in determining the effects of a brain operation on the social behaviour of a monkey. The social-dominance hierarchy can be successfully modified through training in a group of monkeys.

How the interaction of two interpersonal response traits produces differential effects upon behaviour has interested the psychologists. The interaction of dominance and sociability has been taken up by Gough (1957). The 'high-dominance-low sociability' syndrome characterizes the disapproving, judging critic - the thinker. The "high dominance-high sociability" syndrome characterizes the activist - the doer.

#### Group-Dependency

Leading from and related to the dominance factor is the trait of group-dependency as opposed to self-sufficiency. There are individuals who are joiners and sound followers contrasted with resourceful persons who prefer their own decisions. Such persons need others to lean upon and are socially group dependent (Gattell and Eber, 1962). This is one of the major factors in introversion. On the independent end of the dimension is a person who is resolute and accustomed to making his own decisions alone while at the other end is the person who goes with the group and thus definitely values social approval more. Independence implies preference to do one's own planning, to work things out in his own way, not seeking support or advice and being emotionally

self-sufficient (Kreoh, Grutchfield and Ballachey, 1962). Independence contrasted with dependence is another primary interpersonal response trait under the category of role dispositions. The two types : 'moving away from others' and 'moving toward others' appear to be the polar extremes of this trait.

Independence of judgement is a form of behaviour in the group-pressure situation in which the individual judges and acts mainly on the basis of his own position and is neither unduly susceptible to the group norms nor unduly driven to deviate from them. Independence of judgement is to be distinguished from both conformity and counterformity.

The development of the dependence pattern of personality depends to a considerable extent upon early experiences and parental behaviour. Parents may be over-indulgent or over-affectionate and they may encourage the child to look to them for important decisions, creating a dependence that with continued encouragement may carry over into adult life. The mother who gives the child what she thinks he ought to have, and herself decides what he ought to wear and what he ought to read, is wittingly or unwittingly encouraging dependency rather than independence. Such dependency patterns have a long lasting quality and become a part of the personality. The child who has learned to lean on parental figures or members of his family sticks to his friends and teachers for support and whenever in a conflict situation tends to derive strength and confidence from the fact that he is the member of a certain group. He is dependent on the group, the group satisfying his needs for affiliation and approval and letting him depend. A dependent person

is unable to make decisions without vacillation or delay, he always looks towards others to help him out.

### Ego-Strength

The ego according to Freudian theory is the rational aspect of the personality which regulates the activities of the id and guides organism's behaviour to meet the demands of the reality. The ego is concerned with maintaining social approval and self-esteem and controls expression of the id's impulses according to their acceptability in the real world. The ego develops abilities with which it can observe, select and organize stimuli and impulses: the functions of judgement and intelligence. It also develops methods of keeping the rejected impulses from motility by the use of energy quantities kept ready for this purpose, that is, it blocks the tendency toward discharge and charges the primary process into the secondary process. The ego becomes the mediator between the organism and the outer world.

The oedipal conflicts are again revived during adolescence. The adolescent is faced with powerful sexual and aggressive drives which his ego organization cannot handle. But he has the advantage of increased ego-strength as compared to the oedipal child. The adolescent has intellectual growth, motor skills, physical mastery, the gift of language and logic and tremendous experience in social inter-relationships. All these are gains in ego-strength which come from a long period of learning, experience, identification and maturing. The sympathetic attitudes of parents, teachers, friends and relatives along with adolescent's own perceptual, physical and intellectual growth enable him to gain control over aggressive

energies thus increasing his ego-strength. He then enters the world of reality as a mature adult.

Generally speaking, ego is taken as the individual's concept of self. The conception which an individual has of his role or status is called his ego. As an individual matures in a culture, he gradually builds his role for himself in that culture. Ego-involvement implies a threat to his status or role.

Ego-strength has been considered one of the basic factors in personality organization (Gattello and Eber, 1962). Emotional stability or ego-strength implies maturity and calmness as contrasted to dissatisfied emotionality, immaturity and instability. Ego-strength is loaded with emotional maturity, emotional stability, realistic approach toward life, absence of neurotic fatigue, calmness and phlegmationess. This is well known as a personality dimension. This factor is one of dynamic integration and maturity opposed to general emotionality. The pattern has been shown to exist among normals as well as in groups of neurotics in different shapes.

### Shyness

Shyness and timidity are known personality traits which influence the overall behaviour of an individual. The adjective 'shy' means: avoiding observation, uneasy in company, elusive, bashful and coy. Ascendance and social timidity have been treated as primary interpersonal response traits. A socially timid individual is unable to defend his own rights, minds being conspicuous and does not put himself forward (Kreeh, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962). Adventurousness is contrasted with shyness and timidity

(Gattell and Eber, 1962). An adventurous individual likes meeting people, is active and displays active interest in the opposite sex. A shy individual is withdrawn and retiring in the face of the opposite sex. Shyness and timidity go with restraint, aloofness and conscientiousness. The interests are restricted, whereas, on the other hand, are responsive genial individuals who are friendly, impulsive and frivolous. Emotional and artistic interests are coupled with a carefree outlook. Going together with shyness are the qualities of care, consideration and quickness to see changes.

This factor has been repeatedly discovered both in ratings and in questionnaires. The shy and timid individual reports himself to be intensely shy, convinced of his inferiority, slow and impeded in expressing himself, disliking personal contacts, preferring one or two close friends to large groups and not able to keep contact with all that is going on around him. He is "threat-reactive", therefore, technical label 'threctia' is attached to him (Gattell and Eber, 1962). The other end of the dimension has an individual who shows little inhibition by environmental threat, and incidentally is rated 'lazy' in childhood. This constitutional insusceptibility to inhibition in turn generates the social, sexual, emotional and general readiness to venture. The trait of shyness may have quite diverse origin in different people. Shyness in one person may be due to hereditary influences that no amount of contrary pressure from the environment has been able to offset, in another person shyness may stem from an

inferiority feeling built by an abnormally exacting environment. In spite of dissimilar histories the shyness of these two persons may be very much alike. Shyness, diffidence, restraint and timidity are contrasted with social boldness, adventurousness, uninhibition and spontaneity.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND HYPOTHESES



The review of the Literature has been divided into six subsections and in each section the studies have been arranged yearwise. Section I deals with some important studies in the field of conformity behaviour. In Section II studies dealing with the concept of conformity have been listed. This is followed by studies showing different types of stimuli in conformity experiments (Section III). In Section IV studies dealing with situational factors and in Section V studies dealing with personality factors are given. Lastly, in Section VI there are studies dealing with sex differences in conformity behaviour. At the end of the Chapter hypotheses of the present study based on the review have been drawn.

#### Section I : Important Studies on Conformity

The influence of social factors on human behaviour has arrested the attention of many keen investigators. Although it becomes somewhat difficult to handle social factors under controlled conditions, more and more investigators are trying to bring the group factors or social factors in the laboratory situation.

F.H.Allport tried to study the group effects on performance. The task used was judging odours from putrid odours to perfumes. Allport (1924) found that in the above situation when the subject was tested individually he tried to give extreme judgements of pleasant or unpleasant. But when the same subject was put in a group situation with other individuals he avoided extreme judgements of pleasantness and unpleasantness. The unpleasant odours were estimated as less unpleasant, and the pleasant odours were judged as less pleasant in the group situation than when judging alone. Thus the group had a levelling effect on the individuals.

The judgements were toned down. There was a tendency to temper one's opinion and conduct by deference to the opinions and conduct of others. This classic experiment reveals the influence of group on the individual.

Another study which demonstrates the influence of other members on individual was conducted in 1935 by Sherif (Sherif and Sherif, 1956). Sherif made use of autokinetic phenomenon in studying the process of norm formation in laboratory situation. Autokinetic phenomenon is one in which a single light shown in a totally dark room appears to be moving to the subject. The subjects were tested individually as well as with other subjects. It was found that in the alone situation the subjects developed their own norms but in the group situation the norms of the various individuals tended to converge. This convergence was not so close if the togetherness situation followed the alone situation. If the group session was given first the group developed a range and a norm within that range peculiar to that group. If for the group, there was a rise or fall in the norms established in successive sessions, it was a group effect.

Asch's (1952) widely known work on conformity behaviour has enhanced the interest in this field. Asch produced a group situation in the laboratory. A group of subjects was given the line-judgement task. Actually all but one of the subjects were confederates of the experimenter and gave unanimously wrong responses on certain critical trials. The subject was the last one to voice his opinion. If he yielded to the wrong but unanimous group influence and gave the answer given by the group he

was termed 'yielder'. If he resisted the group pressure and stuck to his own judgement he was termed 'non-yielder' or 'independent'. This experimental model has been very popular among investigators dealing with conformity behaviour.

Crutchfield (1954) used this technique with certain variations. The confederates were not actually present in the experiment but the subjects were led to believe that judgements were given by different individuals seated in different booths. In conjunction with a number of intensive personality assessment studies of military officials, medical school applicants, engineers, research scientists, creative writers and architects, Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) administered his conformity measuring procedures as part of the total assessment battery. Thus personality correlates of conformity behaviour were worked out for a large sample. Crutchfield found conformists to be low in intelligence, ego-strength and in ability to cope under stress. They had pronounced feelings of personal inferiority and inadequacy. In interpersonal relation they were passive, suggestible and poor in judging others. They expressed conventional and moralistic attitudes and values. This extensive study provides us with a clear cut picture of personality correlates of conformity behaviour.

## Section II : Studies Dealing with the Concept

Sinha (1952) studied the influence of a social factor in perception. Using the spiral illusion he found that individual judgements of the duration of apparent movement were influenced by majority suggestion. Subjects tried to bring their judgements closer to the arbitrary group standard.

Deutsch and Gerard (1955) have shown that there were two types of social influences upon individual judgement - normative and informational. Normative social influence was "an influence to conform with the positive expectations of another." An informational social influence was "an influence to accept information obtained from another as evidence about reality." These two types are commonly found together.

A theoretical analysis and experimental investigation of social conformity has been made by McDavid (1958). Social conformity behaviour had been divided into two classes : (1) Behaviour aimed toward gaining or retaining social approval and (2) behaviour aimed toward achievement of personal success. For approval directed conformity to occur, the environmental situation must be interpreted as one in which achievement of personal success is subordinated to acquisition or retention of social approval. For achievement directed conformity to occur environmental situation must be interpreted as one in which modes of behaviour presently employed are inadequate routes to desired goals, so a new mode must be adopted.

Social conformity according to Hollander (1959) is examined from three aspects generally attributed to this phenomenon, viz., (a) relatively stable motive pattern of the individual, (b) a dimension of personality and (c) group characteristics. Conformity is viewed as a "process leading somewhere" and the central thesis expressed is that "an individual functions within a social field, largely in terms of his perception of the 'group expectancies' regarding his behaviour."

Secord and Backman (1964) have pointed out that there are two sources that we rely on to determine the validity of our opinions : Physical reality and social reality. A good deal of information is obtained by the use of our senses but we also rely on other persons to interpret our world for us. Parents, friends and teachers etc. serve as sources of information. In an ambiguous situation an individual is more prone to rely upon others for information and validation of his opinions. Thus conformity takes place because we need to exchange information with others in the course of daily life (Secord and Backman, 1964).

Steiner and Vannoy (1966) have differentiated between reaffirmers and renouncers. Reaffirmers were those who repeated their compliant response even after the removal of social pressure. Renouncers did not repeat the compliant response on removal of pressure. Relationships between conformity and personality variables were found to be different for these two categories of subjects. Failure to determine the stability of subjects' conforming behaviour might explain some of the weak and inconsistent findings in the area of conformity and personality.

Schulman (1967) has pointed out that behaviour in Asch situation was a function of three types of influences : Informational conformity, normative conformity to the group and normative conformity to the experimenter.

Marino and Parkin (1969) have criticised the Asch conformity experiment for being time consuming. A modification was introduced. A group of subjects verbally responded to a

line judgement test; under the impression that they all had lines of equal lengths. In fact prearranged sub-groups had differing lines on certain critical trials.

Section III : Studies Showing Different Types of Stimuli  
in Conformity Experiments

The problem of conformity having deep roots in the history of psychology, there are many types of stimuli used for the purpose of measurement. Amongst the many types of stimuli used is the additional stimulus in which the subjects are given a hearing of some recorded music or verbal speech and are asked to judge the duration of the sound. Kaleidoscopic presentation of pictures is given and the task of the subject is to identify the pictures. Form judgement and perceptual judgement procedures have been widely used since the classic experiments of Asch (1952). Following Sherif (Sherif and Sherif, 1956), Autokinetic phenomenon is also used for studying conformity behaviour. The task of the subject consists of judging the movement of a stationary light in a totally dark room. Conformity is also studied through attitude measurement and subjects' agreement with the statements. Thus the tasks used in conformity situation cover a wide range. These can be line judgement, form judgement, autokinetic phenomenon, odour judgement, tasks involving perceptual illusions, tasks connected with auditory judgement, picking appropriate story descriptions, judging literary pieces and tasks involving opinions and attitudes.

Sinha (1952) used the spiral illusion to study the effect of a social factor in perception. In a study by Hardy (1957) college males varying in affiliative motive were subjected to a group influence situation. In this situation their previously measured attitude toward divorce was either unanimously opposed or was opposed with the exception of one supporter. The subjects' public reaction (conformity) and private response ( attitude change ) were measured.

Weiner and McGinnies (1961) showed 27 successive presentations of three schematically drawn human faces - one smiling, one frowning and one ambiguous - to forty undergraduates. The subjects had to judge whether the faces were smiling or frowning. Each naive subject was tested with two confederates of the experimenter who were preinstructed how to respond. In a study by Strickland and Crowne (1962) a group atmosphere was simulated by means of tape recording. Subjects were presented with the conflicting demands of an unambiguous auditory stimulus and the unanimous reports of three preinstructed and prerecorded accomplices who gave inaccurate estimates. Conformity was measured by counting the number of times the naive subject gave the same incorrect response as the accomplices.

Crowne and Marlowe (1964) measured conformity following Asch's method. The task consisted of judging which circle had more dots in it. In another study they used a technique in which the subject had to determine the number of taps in a fixed interval. A tape recorder was played for this purpose and the whole apparatus was made impressive to convince the

subject about the sincerity of the experiment. In a study by Garrigan and Julian (1966) subjects had to pick appropriate story descriptions for a set of pictures for which popular story choices had been previously indicated.

Having glanced at these measurement procedures, it can be said that in almost all conformity measuring situations some sort of deception is practised.

#### Section IV : Studies Dealing with Situational Factors

Two main stands have been taken by psychologists dealing with conformity behaviour. On one hand are psychologists who emphasize situational factors in conformity behaviour and on the other hand are those psychologists who stress personality factors in conformity behaviour. Studies dealing with group size, group composition, unanimity of group consensus, extremeness of group consensus and larger social context have shown the importance of situational factors.

Schachter (1951) studied the relation between relevance of task to the group's function and norm sending. In some groups the activity assigned to the group corresponded to the purposes of the group, in other groups, it had nothing to do with the purposes of the group. He found that in the former groups greater pressure toward uniformity was exerted upon the deviant members. Also the deviant was assigned to a low status committee ( a measure of rejection ) to a far greater extent in the task-relevant than in the task-irrelevant groups.



Conformity to group has been studied as a function of group success ( Kidd and Campbell, 1955 ). Three-person groups were given different degrees of success and failure in a collaborative group task. The persons in groups given three-successes and no failure showed significantly more movement in the direction of the purported group average. The three-failure groups showed less conformity than the control group, although the difference was not found to be significant. Conformity behaviour has been shown by Berkowitz (1957) as a function of liking for the group and the perceived merit of the group's behaviour. Blake, Helson and Mouton (1957) have shown conformity responses to be more frequent with difficult items, with small rather than large deviations of group opinion from the true responses and have also shown individual consistency in conformity behaviour over different tasks.

In a study by McDavid (1959) message-oriented and source-oriented individuals were differentiated on the basis of consistent dispositional tendencies in the perception of interpersonal communication. Message-oriented individuals were found to be less susceptible to group influence, were not affected by manipulation of task difficulty and, showed a tendency to compromise with group judgement rather than complete agreement. Authority was found to be more effective than majority in social influence in a line judgement task ( Luchins and Luchins, 1961 ).

The study of conformity has been extended to children by Iscoe, Williams and Harvey (1963). Covering the age range seven to fifteen years, they used a simulated group conformity

situation in a factorial design in which sex, age, task difficulty, rural-urban residence and presence or absence of group pressure were the independent variables. Results indicated that females conformed more than males, generally increasing from age seven upto twelve years and then decreasing whereas males increased from seven upto fifteen years. Urban males conformed less than rural males.

Hollander (1965) has shown that a significant increase in the influence of the confederates occurred as trials progressed, presumably as a function of the successive evidence of competence. Vidulich and Ivan (1965) have studied the effects of information source status and dogmatism upon conformity behaviour.

Johnson and Scilleppi (1969) studied the effects of ego-involvement on attitude change to high and low credibility communicators. Results indicated greater attitude change in low ego-involvement - high source credibility situation than in the other three combinations of source credibility and ego-involvement. The authors compared the Asch type conformity situation to lower ego-involvement - implausible communication treatment.

#### Section V : Studies Dealing with Personality Factors

A number of studies have been conducted in a search of personality correlates of conformity behaviour. Investigators in this field conceptualize conformity as a stable and enduring

personality characteristics and therefore want to chalk out the other personality variables that go with a tendency to conform or a tendency to remain independent.

The extensive study by Adorno and others (1950) on authoritarian personality has interested the psychologists for a long time. Adorno and others have pointed out that a basically hierarchical, authoritarian, parent-child relationship is apt to carry over into a power-oriented, exploitatively dependent attitude toward one's sex partner and one's God. Conventionality, rigidity, repressive denial, and the ensuing breakthrough of one's weakness, fear and dependency are other aspects of this fundamental personality pattern. Authoritarian personality is described as a cluster of traits found in some persons. It includes high degree of conformity, dependence upon authority, overcontrol of feelings and impulses, rigidity of thinking and ethnocentrism. Janis (1954) studied the personality correlates of susceptibility to persuasion and substantiated the prediction that low self-esteem persons would be more readily influenced by others and persons with acute symptoms of neurotic anxiety would tend to be more resistant.

O'Connor (1954) reported that social conformity is a consistent behaviour tendency. When viewed as a consistent personality characteristic it becomes a valid and useful variable in accounting for the relationships between antecedent conditions and subsequent behaviour of individuals. Manifest Anxiety level did not have a simple relationship with conformity but rigidity was directly related to conformity behaviour.

In another study Janis (1955) showed that different anxiety indices were differently related to susceptibility to persuasion. A high degree of neurotic anxiety gave rise to low persuasibility. ( The findings were in the expected direction but not statistically significant ). A high degree of socially oriented anxiety and test anxiety gave rise to high persuasibility.

Hardy (1957) found conformity to be a joint function of affiliative motivation and condition of social support. Moeller and Applezweig (1957) studied the relationship of social-approval and self-approval to conformity behaviour. The results showed that high social-approval and low self-approval subjects yielded significantly more than either of the other groups.

Mouton (1957) studied the psychological aspects of conformity behaviour of men and women and worked out a broad implication for education. As people become more familiar with a wide range of topics they become less subject to possible coercive influence with a consequent decrease in conformity of the kind which leads to inappropriate adjustments. Susceptibility to social influence was found to be a function of familiarity rather than the sex of the subject.

Samelson (1957) studied the relationship of need for achievement and affiliation to conformity under conditions of

Continued....

full conflict and reduced conflict. He reported that in the full conflict condition the need for achievement was negatively related to conformity behaviour, though weakly.

Endler (1958) found no relationship between conformity and the personality measures used. He reported that conformity was a function of the degree of social pressure. His findings further revealed individual differences in responding to that pressure. There was a generalized conformity factor and the suggestion of a compliance factor.

In a study of age of independence training and need for achievement, Krebs (1958) found that the greatest conformity occurred under conditions of low need for achievement and late independence training. Need for achievement and relative age of independence training in concurrent operation, had a synergistic effect regarding conformity.

Levy (1959) found affiliation and nurturance to be positively related to conformity behaviour and heterosexuality to be negatively related.

Mann (1959) has presented a review of relationships between personality and performance in small groups. Reviewing studies on conformity and personality, he pointed out that different types of personality measures have been used from time to time, i.e., self-ratings, peer ratings, questionnaires, objective tests, and checklists. Mann (1959) has shown that in case of adjustment, self-ratings and other techniques gave contradictory reports. Conformers tended to see themselves as better adjusted but other techniques showed that well adjusted

individuals were less likely to conform to opinions of others. In case of extroversion - introversion also, findings were inconclusive. Dominance showed a clear cut negative relationship with conformity behaviour. In case of conservatism the burden of evidence suggested that conservative, conventional and authoritarian subjects were more likely to yield than radical or unconventional individuals.

Conformists had a low tolerance for ambiguity and a rigid, dogmatic and authoritarian outlook. Nadler (1959) reported that F-scale scores correlated .48 with conformity scores as measured in the Asch technique.

Harvey and Conslavi (1960) showed that status and conformity in informal groups were related but the basic question of whether the high status person attained his status by conforming or did he conform because he had high status and wanted to maintain his position, remained unanswered.

Patel and Gordon (1960) reported high suggestibility in girls in lower grades, when the source of suggestion was high in prestige or if the items were difficult. Levey (1961) has pointed out the role that psychotherapy can play in helping the person compulsively driven either to conform or differ. Conformity and differing are discussed with respect to their neurotic and healthy aspects.

Smith (1961) found that subject's susceptibility to group pressure was related to the degree of confidence in his judgement but not to his ego-strength. Strickland and Crowne (1962) found that the subjects with a high need for social

approval conformed significantly more than low-approval-need subjects. Thorne (1962) reported insignificant findings. None of the results of the birth-order, anxiety or rejection significantly influenced conformity scores.

Experimentally reinforced conformity can be generalized to other objective and subjective materials on which feed back is not given. Females showed greater generalization of conformity behaviour than males (Allen and Crutchfield, 1963).

Using an Asch type situation Appley and Moeller (1963) found practically no relationship between conformity and personality variables from different inventories and profiles. Singh (1963) reported no significant differences but the trend showed that high extroversion and low neuroticism subjects conformed more.

McDavid and Sistrunk (1964) have shown that personality correlates of conformity behaviour were a function of both sex and task solubility.

Zajonc and Wahi (1965) predicted that when conformity was perceived as instrumental to achievement a positive rather than negative relation between need for achievement and conformity would be obtained. The results substantiated the prediction.

Fear and social comparison were studied as determinants of conformity behaviour by Darley (1966). It was found that an increase in fear caused increased conformity and the increase became greater if conformity pressures came from people toward whom the subject had affiliation.

Klein (1967) reported that subjects who conformed consistently to the same authorities shared the superficial approval orientation, but also had more general approval needs and lower self-esteem and preferred regressive defences.

Dodge and Muench (1968) hypothesized that a minority of one would yield to majority opinions. Findings substantiated this prediction, but the hypothesis of a direct positive correlation between conformity and need for approval in the sixth grade children was not established.

Costanzo (1970) showed that self-blame and conformity were highly interrelated processes. Long (1970) studied relationships among I.Q., agreement response set, dogmatism and conforming judgement and also differences in conforming judgement among differently structured racial groups. Results suggested that personal and social variables may be either mutually reinforcing or in conflict.

Naidu and Sinha (1972) studied the relationship between anxiety and conformity behaviour. Fifty-five undergraduate students of Allahabad University were given Sinha W-A Self Analysis Form. On the basis of the scores subjects were divided into High Anxiety and Low Anxiety groups. A variation of Asch (1952) method was used to test conformity behaviour. In one session there were seven accomplices and, the number of subjects varied from four to seven. The task used was that of size determination. The results supported the hypothesis that conformity would be a positive function of anxiety. Analysis of introspective reports also revealed certain interesting facts. In high anxiety group 54.5 % of



subjects reported anxiety especially when their judgements differed from those of experts. Whereas in low anxiety group only 21.4% of subjects reported this. In high anxiety group 18.3% of subjects reported confidence in spite of non-conforming judgements, whereas for low anxiety group the figure was 49% . Thus both qualitative and quantitative findings revealed that high anxiety subjects conformed more as compared to low anxiety subjects.

#### Section VI : Sex and Conformity.

Different roles played by males and females in most cultural settings have led to the investigation of sex differences in conformity behaviour.

Patel and Gordon (1960) studied factors associated with acceptance of suggestions using boys and girls in grades ten, eleven and twelve. Higher suggestibility was found in girls in the lower grades, when the source of suggestion was high in prestige or when the items were difficult. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) found females to be consistently more conforming than males.

Iscoe, Williams and Harvey (1963) found that females conformed more than males, generally increasing from age seven upto twelve years and then decreasing whereas males increased from seven upto fifteen years.

Carrigan and Julian (1966) found that the first born or only children were more influencible than later born children and females were more influencible than males.

Fromilla Kapur (1970) has pointed out that in our cultural setting more conformity to norms is demanded from females than from males.

Thus a steady increase in sophistication in conformity studies is seen. Early studies were content with demonstrating whether the group has or does not have an influence. Modern studies are concerned with specifying conditions under which effects are demonstrable and the impact of different conditions on individuals. The next step occurs when the experimenter specifies not only conditions but properties of individual which modify or enhance the impact of the group.

### Hypotheses

Conformity as a psychological process has got two aspects. One deals with the situation and the other with the personality characteristics of the conformer. The personality of an individual has an all-pervading influence on his behaviour. For accurate predictions of conformity behaviour the factors determining conformity must be isolated and studied. The situational factors pertaining to group characteristics are important but one must not undermine the importance of personality characteristics especially in the present era, when research in various fields is becoming more and more person-oriented and individualistic. Why is it that in an exactly similar situation one person conforms more than the other? Obviously some individual difference is at work and to understand that, a study of personality attributes in connection

with conformity must be made. This is what the present work is designed for.

On the basis of the above review it is seen that a number of personality factors are related to conformity behaviour. Some important factors have been taken to be studied in the present study. A number of hypotheses have been worked out concerning the relationship between conformity and each personality factor. Difference in the conformity of males and females is also studied.

#### Sex Difference in Conformity.

In most cultural settings males and females have different roles to play. This difference is also demonstrated in matters concerning conformity behaviour. In the Indian culture there appears a pronounced difference in the definition of sex roles in regard to the matter of conformity. The typical feminine role tends to be defined as involving promulgation of the conventional values of the culture, dependence upon the group, submissiveness to male and avoidance of disagreement with others in the interests of group harmony. The typical masculine role tends to lay more stress on the ideals of self-sufficiency, self-assertion, independence of thought, standing on one's own feet and casting a shadow.

Promilla Kapur (1970) dealing with marriage and the life of working woman in India has pointed out that in a country like ours, where obeying social pressure, conventional behaviour, following the elders and submissiveness is appreciated in girls, sex differences in conformity pattern are expected. Marriages

in Indian community have been successful from the beginning in the olden days because husband and wife had to adjust to each other. There was no question of marital adjustment becoming a problem. Marriage was considered a social duty toward the family and the community and there was little thought of individual interest. Roles, status and obligations were marked by, specified, and conflict was thus avoided. There was a definite value system and the dominance-submissiveness relationship was clearly structured.

"According to the traditional norms of a society a husband is expected to be the authoritarian figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene... The wife should regard him as her 'master' and should 'serve him faithfully'..." The husband is 'superior', the wife is the 'subordinate' (Dube, 1967). Srinivas (1942) has also pointed out that a wife has to adhere more to a set pattern laid down for her than a husband. Complete devotion and obedience to husband is expected. The expected subordinate position of wife eliminates much conflict and tension.

Now the situation is somewhat changed. Clear cut values and roles are fading out. An era of conflict and confusion has started. Absence of well-defined social values makes likelihood of conflict greater but still on the Indian scene males are granted more freedom than females. Boys are free to enjoy, they can have nights out, but girls are still expected to maintain traditional values and patterns. The burden of maintaining the norms and traditions lies heavier on the

shoulder of the Indian woman than the Indian man even in the twentieth century. Thus girls are brought up to be more conforming, norm-adhering and adjustable. The cultural setting is of such a nature that more conformity is demanded of girls than of boys.

Studies dealing with sex differences in conformity behaviour show females to be more conforming. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) found that females consistently earned higher conformity scores than males. This difference tended to get larger as the testing session continued; on the average the conformity scores for males tended to decline over the duration of the session whereas the average scores for females tended to rise.

Garrigan and Julian (1966) studied birth order and sex differences in conforming behaviour under neutral and socially threatening conditions. The sample consisted of 96 sixth grade children. As hypothesized, first born or only children were more influencible than later born children, and females were more influencible than males. These differences increased under conditions of heightened affiliation arousal. In another study by Patel and Gordon (1960) factors associated with acceptance of suggestions were studied using boys and girls in grades ten, eleven and twelve. Higher suggestibility was found in girls in lower grades.

Iscoe, Williams and Harvey (1963) used a factorial design in which age, sex, task-difficulty, rural-urban residence and presence or absence of group pressure were the independent

variables. It was found that females conformed more than males.

These studies consistently point out the trend in conformity behaviour. Females are more conforming than males. Premilla Kapur (1970) has also pointed out that on the Indian scene more conformity to norms is demanded from females and more freedom is granted to males. On the basis of this hypothesis number one is developed that other conditions remaining the same females would tend to have a higher conformity score as compared to males.

#### Conformity and Anxiety

The relationship of conformity and anxiety has been under investigation for a long time because it has been found that non-conformity is often anxiety producing for the subject. In his classic experiments on conformity behaviour Asch (1952) has demonstrated that even the strongest independent subject tended to feel some anxiety and depression when he found that he was not in agreement with others and was standing alone. When the naive subjects were interviewed after the experimental session they told the experimenter that the perceived discrepancy between their judgements and that of the group created tension within them and they tended to doubt their own judgement, not that of the majority. One subject reported: "I felt disturbed, puzzled, separated, like an outcast from the rest. Everytime I disagreed I was beginning to wonder if I wasn't beginning to look funny." This introspective report clearly shows that even in a structured situation where the group judgement is wrong, the unanimity of group creates strong pressures and the individua

wants to agree with the group. If he can sacrifice his sensory reality for social reality, he conforms and resolves his conflict, but if he sticks to his own correct judgement in opposition to that of the group, he tends to get anxious, feels disturbed, and doubts his own judgement at times. The strong group pressure creates tension within the subject. The subject does not want to oppose the unanimous majority and if he does he feels anxious.

Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) making an extensive study of personality correlates of conformity behaviour found the conformists to be more anxious ( $r$  .30 to .40).

Naidu and Sinha (1972) found that conformity was a positive function of anxiety.

Hoffman (1957) has reported that conformity has an anxiety reducing function for the compulsive conformists - those whose conformity is based on non-rational needs to agree with one's peer group. Feelings of insecurity, lack of confidence and inferiority feelings are characteristics of an anxious person. Non-conformity on the part of such a person enhances these feelings. Anxiety is the self-inflicted punishment for non-conformity in the other-directed man and falling in line with the group provides reassurance.

On the basis of the above discussion hypothesis no. two is developed that other conditions remaining the same conformists would tend to have a higher level of anxiety as compared to independents.

### Conformity and Intelligence.

The cognitive functioning of an individual has a close connection with the actual amount of yielding measured experimentally. The conformity situation is one in which persons with a higher level of intelligence and insight can guess about the real nature of the situation and at the same time using the rational mind choose to yield or not to yield to the influences. An independent individual is not one who always resists group pressure but one who can see the pros and the cons of the issue and then if he thinks it proper he either yields or maintains his independence. This ability greatly depends on the person's cognitive functioning, his general ability to see relationships, his perseverance if he thinks he is following the right path and his intellectual capacity as a whole. A bright subject is more likely to guess the true nature of the experiment than a dull one, who is boorish and quitting. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) found conformists to be less intelligent than independents. Correlation of conformity with Concept Mastery Test, a high level test of intelligence, was  $-.50$  or higher.

On the basis of the above discussion hypothesis number three is developed that other conditions remaining the same conformists would have a lower level of intelligence as compared to independents.

### Conformity and Conservatism.

Another personality dimension bearing close relationship



to the amount of yielding is conservatism-radicalism. Dictionary meaning of conservatism refers to disposition to maintain existing institutions, being moderate and cautious. Radicalism on the other hand means desiring reforms and having a liberal outlook. This dimension refers to modes of experiencing and adapting to problems. Radicals are more well-informed and more inclined to experiment with problem situations and less inclined to moralize.

Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) found conformists to show greater tendencies toward rigidity of cognitive processes and poverty of ideas as contrasted with greater capacity for cognitive restructuring and for novel ideas found in independent subjects. Conformists expressed attitudes and values of a far more conventional and moralistic nature than independents. This was often coupled with a rigid, dogmatic and authoritarian outlook.

Since the behaviour of a conformist denotes accepting the opinion of others or group norms because of their traditional or majority value, hypothesis number four is developed that other conditions remaining the same conformists would tend to be more conservative as compared to independents.

#### Conformity and Conventionality

A somewhat related personality dimension is that of 'Praxernia' and 'autia'. On one hand we have a person who is practical, careful, conventional, regulated by external realities and proper. The other side of the picture shows an

practical matters and bohemian (Cattell and Eber, 1962). Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) found in his study that conformists had occupational interest patterns which were similar to those professions generally regarded as placing more stress on social conventional values. The interest patterns of independent subjects tended to be similar to those of persons in occupations calling for artistic and scientific originality, i.e., artist, musician, author-journalist, architect, etc. The ratings of conformists and independents by expert psychological observers showed that independents were described as original and imaginative, who sought and enjoyed aesthetic and sensuous impressions, whereas conformists tended to be described as having a narrow range of interests, judging self and others in conventional terms such as popularity, the correct thing to do, group opinion etc. The independents were rated as concerned with philosophical problems, thinking and associating to ideas in an unusual way, possessing unconventional thought processes. These ratings were made by observers in complete ignorance of subjects' performance on conformity task.

On the basis of the above discussion hypothesis number five is developed that other conditions remaining the same conformists would tend to be more conventional as compared to independents.

#### Conformity and Confidence

Confidence in one's judgement and behaviour is related inversely to feelings of anxiety and consequently to conformity

as a positive correlation between conformity and anxiety has been hypothesized. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Bal-lachey, 1962) has reported that conformists were inclined toward pronounced feelings of personal inferiority and inadequacy. They lacked self-confidence and had less insight and realistic approach in their self-perceptions. Ratings also show that conformists were unable to make decisions without vacillation or delay and showed hesitancy all the time. Independents were placid, self-assured, confident and serene, showing untroubled adequacy, whereas conformists were apprehensive, worrying, depressed and troubled showing guilt-proneness. Conformists were described as having a readiness to feel guilty.

Hoffman (1957) has pointed out that feelings of insecurity, inferiority and lack of confidence are characteristics of an anxious person. Non-conformity on the part of such a person enhances these feelings.

Smith (1961) also found that yielding on judgements made on Galton bar was a function of the degree to which subject felt confident in his judgement.

On the basis of the above discussion hypothesis number six is developed that other conditions remaining the same conformists would tend to be less confident as compared to independents.

#### Conformity Related to Dominance and Group Dependency

In terms of interpersonal relations two personality dimensions are very important in affecting the actual inter-

personal behaviour. The first dimension deals with submissiveness-dominance and the second one with group-adherence vs. Self-sufficiency. The exhaustive study of Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) points out that conformists exhibited intense preoccupation with other people, as contrasted with the more self-contained autonomous attitudes of the independent persons. Conformists exhibited passivity, suggestibility and dependence upon others while at the same time there was considerable evidence of basically disturbed and distrustful attitudes toward other people. In terms of ratings conformists were described as respecting authority, submissive, compliant and overly accepting. They tended to do the prescribed things. They were overly responsive to other people's evaluations rather than their own and allowed others to exploit them. Independent subject on the other hand was an effective leader, took an ascendant role in relation to others instead of being pursued, and he was persuasive. He was turned to for advice and reassurance, he was self-reliant, independent in judgement, and able to think for himself. The independent subject valued his own independence and autonomy. Conformists tended to be humble, mild, obedient, sound group-joiners and followers. Independents tended to be aggressive and stubborn, self-sufficient and resourceful. Again in terms of ratings the independent subject expressed his hostility directly.

Group-dependence and submissiveness are close concomitants of conformity behaviour as the term itself means yielding

to group pressure, accepting others' opinions and relying on others.

Mann (1959) reported a negative trend between conformity and dominance. Levy (1959) too found dominance to be negatively related to conformity behaviour.

Krebs (1958) found that the earlier the occurrence of independence training during childhood, more resistant the individual would be to group pressures to conform.

This discussion led to the development of hypothesis number seven that other conditions remaining the same conformists would tend to be more submissive in their interpersonal behaviour than independents, and hypothesis number eight that other conditions remaining the same conformists would tend to adhere more to the group-judgement than independents.

#### Conformity and Ego-Strength

In terms of motivational and emotional functioning independents with their rational mind, balanced outlook and intellectual capacity have more emotional stability. According to Crutchfield the ratings of conformists showed that they became confused, disorganized and un-adaptive under stress. Having apprehensions, worry, anxiety and guilt-proneness, their emotionality was unbalanced and disorganized. They were easily affected by feelings, were emotionally less stable and easily upset. The anxiety, worry and emotional instability made them look for the support of others by conforming to their opinions, actions and values. A person who is emotionally stable, faces reality and can calmly consider the pros and cons of the matter, he is more likely

to make his own decision that he thinks to be appropriate. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballaachey, 1962) reported conformists to be clearly low in ego-strength and in ability to cope under stress. A measure based on the readiness of soldiers to fire their guns effectively under battle conditions in the Korean conflict was found to correlate  $-.38$ , with conformity score in a sample of military officers. Thus on the basis of theoretical evidence and empirical research the hypothesis number nine was developed that other conditions remaining the same, conformists would tend to have lower ego-strength as compared to independents.

#### Conformity and Shyness

The general control, correctiveness and conventionality of the conformist personality leads us to another dimension of personality, 'threectia' and 'parmia'. 'Threectia' persons are shy, restrained, diffident and timid, whereas 'parmia' persons are venturesome, socially bold, uninhibited and spontaneous (Gattell and Eber, 1962). Conformists are precise, controlled and proper in their behaviour. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballaachey, 1962) points out that conformists tend to exhibit emotional constriction, lack of spontaneity, repression of impulses and indirect expression of hostility. Ratings also described conformist as over-controlling his impulses, inhibited, needlessly delaying or denying gratification. The independent was described as an expressive, ebullient person, active and vigorous. This led to the development of hypothesis number ten that other conditions remaining the same conformists would tend to be shy and restrained as compared to independents.

On the basis of the above discussion it was hypothesized in general terms that other conditions remaining the same, conformists would tend to be anxious, less intelligent, conservative, conventional, less confident, submissive and group-dependent. They would lack ego-strength as compared to independents and would be shy and restrained in their behaviour, and that conformity behaviour would be more prominent in females than in males.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY



Three measures were developed to measure the conformity level of the subjects. The first two measures were for measuring the trait in question in an experimental situation with two planted subjects. The third one was an attitudinal measure in which attitude towards non-conformity depicted in certain pictures was measured.

(1) Mood Judgement Test

The mood judgement test was designed on the lines of Asch (1952). A mood judgement situation was used in which the subject along with two confederates of the experimenter had to judge the mood of the photographs shown. For this purpose such photographs of human subjects were chosen in which the chances were both of pleasant judgement and of unpleasant judgement. The rationale of this experiment was that the photographs were of a type for which both judgements pleasant and unpleasant could be given. The photographs did not depict either of the moods strikingly. If the subject agreed with the extreme judgements of the confederates over the photographs, he was being influenced by them and showing conformity behaviour.

The general plan of the experiment consisted of seating the subject with two pre-instructed confederates of the experimenter. One confederate being male and the other one being female. The confederates were research scholars in psychology. Photographs of neutral human faces were presented to the three persons. The subject was led to believe that the planted subjects were genuine. No indication of their being pre-instructed was given. The task of the subject consisted

of telling the mood of the person shown in the photograph. For this purpose they were provided with a five-point rating scale ranging from 'very pleasant', 'pleasant', 'neither pleasant nor unpleasant', 'unpleasant' to 'very unpleasant'. The subject was to put a tick mark against the category that he thought most suitable for the picture shown. It was so arranged that the subject was the last to voice his opinion. The pre-instructed confederates gave unanimous answers and it was seen whether the subject agreed with the confederates or not.

#### Material Selection

Photographs of human faces, males and females, were taken from 'Dharmyug' and 'Illustrated Weekly of India'. These are popular weekly magazines. The former is in Hindi and the latter in English.

Twenty-five pictures were taken and pasted on separate cards. These twenty-five pictures were shown to twenty-six judges who judged every picture as 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant'. In this way there were twenty-six responses for each picture judging it to be 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant'. In this experiment, the experimenter wanted neutral pictures on which 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant' expressions were not shown in a striking manner. For this purpose  $\chi^2$  was worked out for every picture in terms of 'pleasant' and 'unpleasant' responses. The pictures which had  $\chi^2$  as insignificant meant that both 'pleasant' and 'unpleasant' answers were given for them and truly they neither depicted 'pleasant' nor 'unpleasant' mood. These were the pictures which were taken for the experiment.

The rationale in material selection was the choice of ambiguous material so that there were equal chances of material being judged 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant'.

### Scoring

The scoring was done in terms of the distance that the subject's response had from the group response. The neutral category which was 'neither pleasant nor unpleasant' was scored zero. Categories in the direction of group response were scored as positive and in the opposite direction as negative, denoting conformity and non-conformity. If the group response was 'very pleasant' and the subject said, 'unpleasant', he scored -1. If the subject said, 'very unpleasant', he scored -2. If he said, 'neither pleasant nor unpleasant', he scored zero. If the subject said, 'pleasant', he scored +1 and if he agreed with the group and said, 'very pleasant', he scored +2. Five pictures were shown tachistoscopically to the subject and an average worked out.

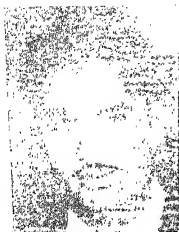
The experiment was tried out on ten subjects to see that everything was satisfactory. This revealed certain facts:

- 1) It needed extreme skill and caution on the part of the planted subjects to convince the subject that the experiment was not a hoax of any kind. Subjects used to guess that the confederates were purposely agreeing with each other.
- 2) The names were called in a uniform order. First the confederates were asked and then the subject. This made him suspicious.

In general, the subject seemed to be somewhat suspicious. In order to allay his suspicions a few changes were brought about in the experiment.

The confederates were reminded of the importance of their keeping up the pretence. They were told to be very cautious. Five more pictures were included in the series. These constituted the buffer items. The first five pictures were the pictures on which response was measured. These five pictures were included only for convincing the subject. No account was taken of the responses on buffer items in scoring. These, too, were neutral pictures. Thus the whole series consisted of ten photographs ( pp. 82-83 ). On the buffer items the subject was asked to voice his opinion, either first or second, so that he did not feel that he was always the last one to voice his opinion. The confederates were told to disagree with each other on buffer items and at times to agree with the subject. The critical trials and buffer items were mixed up and a random selection of the number in the series was made. The critical trials were: 2, 4, 5, 8, 9 and confederates' responses were: 'very unpleasant', 'very pleasant', 'pleasant', 'very unpleasant' and 'very pleasant' respectively. A further change was made in terms of scoring. The two dimensional scoring proved to be tedious and unnecessary. It was decided to give score 2 to the response that was identical with confederates' response. A response that was at a distance of one category from confederates' response was scored 1 and a response at two or more category distance was scored zero. The scores in the five trials were added up in the end.





# MATERIAL FOR MOOD JUDGEMENT TEST

(6-10)



TABLE 9

Statistics For Sex Difference in Terms  
of Behavioural Conformity Scores

Group	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	t	p
Male	50	9.22	2.80	- .30	2.03	<.05
Female	50	10.46	3.30	- .04		

(iii) In case of Attitudinal Conformity Score the difference was again in the hypothesized direction and highly significant. The difference reached the one percent level of confidence denoting a true and reliable difference. Females were found to display more conformity behaviour than Males.

TABLE 10

Statistics For Sex Difference in Terms of  
Attitudinal Conformity Score

Group	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	t	p
Male	50	- .46	2.20	- .07	3.20	<.01
Female	50	+ .86	1.82	+ .20		

### Summary

The results show that Females had a higher conformity score as compared to Males. The three indices of conformity behaviour - Pooled Conformity Score, Behavioural Conformity Score and Attitudinal Conformity Score yielded similar direction of sex differences, but the difference was more pronounced in case of Attitudinal Conformity Score than in the case of Pooled Conformity Score and Behavioural Conformity Score.

### III Conformity and Personality Variables

Two measures of personality variables were used : the Ekinha Anxiety Scale (1961, 1968) measured the Anxiety level of the subject. The Indian adaptation of Cattell's 16 P.F. Test (1962), developed by Jaleta and Kapoor was used for measuring personality variables. The sixteen personality factors measured by this test are : Warmth, Intelligence, Ego-Strength, Dominance, Surgency, Super-ego Strength, Shyness, Sensitiveness, Paranoid tendency, Conventionality, Shrewdness, Confidence, Conservatism, Group-dependence, Self-Sentiment formation and Ergic Tension. Eight personality factors were selected in this study. These selected factors were: Intelligence, Conservatism, Conventionality, Confidence, Dominance, Group-dependency, Ego-Strength and Shyness. Product-moment correlations between conformity scores and each of the personality variables were worked out.



Since Males and Females were found to differ significantly in terms of their Conformity Scores it was decided to do all further analysis separately for Males and Females.

### Conformity and Anxiety

It was hypothesized that conformity and anxiety would be positively correlated with each other because for a worried and anxious individual conformity would provide reassurance and group-support. As has been pointed out in the preceding section (Section II), the conformity distributions showed negligible skewness. Anxiety distributions were also near normal (Table 11). This justified the use of simple Product-Moment Correlation.

TABLE 11

#### Statistics for Anxiety Distribution

Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Skewness
Male	50	36.70	19.0	+ .19
Female	50	37.90	16.6	- .17

#### (1) Pooled Conformity Score and Anxiety

In accordance with the expectation a positive correlation was found between Pooled Conformity Scores and Anxiety Scores (Table 12). Conformists tended to have a high level of anxiety ( $r = +.62$ ;  $r = +.34$ ). In case of the Females the relationship was not as marked as that of the Males.

TABLE 12

Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Anxiety

Sex	Group	N	Mean	r	df	p
Males	Conformity		8.94			
	Anxiety	50	36.70	+ .62	48	<.01
-----						
Females	Conformity		11.12			
	Anxiety	50	37.90	+ .34	48	<.05

The correlation coefficient was higher in case of Males than in the case of Females. The significance of difference between these correlations was tested. The two r's were converted into corresponding z scores and then the significance of difference between the two z's was determined (Garrett, 1965). The comparison of Male and Female coefficients is given below (Table 13).

TABLE 13

Difference between Male and Female r's

Group	N	r	z	CR	p
Male	50	+ .62	.73	1.8	not significant
Female	50	+ .34	.35		

The difference between the correlation coefficients for Male and Female groups was not found to be significant. This difference, therefore, did not denote a true difference.

(11) Behavioural Conformity Score and Anxiety

The behavioural index of conformity yielded similar relationships with anxiety scores. The two variables were found to be associated as shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14  
Correlation between Behavioural Conformity  
Score and Anxiety

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Males	Behavioural Conformity	50	9.22	+.57	48	<.01
	Anxiety		36.70			
Females	Behavioural Confor mity	50	10.46	+.41	48	<.01
	Anxiety		37.90			

The relationship was higher in the case of Males though the difference between the two r's was not significant.

(111) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Anxiety

The anxiety scores were correlated with the second component of the Pooled Conformity Score - The Attitudinal Conformity Score. The hypothesis that conformity and anxiety would be positively correlated was supported by the findings. The results are summarized below (Table 15).

TABLE 15

Correlation between Attitudinal Conformity  
Score and Anxiety

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Males	Attitudinal Conformity	50	-.46	+.46	48	<.01
	Anxiety		36.70			
-----						
Females	Attitudinal Conformity	50	+.86	+.29	48	<.05
	Anxiety		37.90			

Summary

The results suggest that conformity behaviour and anxiety level were positively related to each other. The three indices of conformity behaviour - Pooled Conformity Score, Behavioural Conformity Score and Attitudinal Conformity Score yielded similar relationships and strengthened the conclusion that conformists tended to be more anxious.

Conformity and Intelligence

The degree and direction of relationship between Conformity and Intelligence was tested by Product-Moment correlation. Before working out the correlation the distributions were checked for skewness. The conformity distributions showed negligible skewness, as pointed out in Section II. Table 16 shows that in case of Intelligence also distributions were not

TABLE 16

## Statistics for Intelligence Distribution

Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Skewness
Male	50	5.58	1.61	+.46
Female	50	5.62	1.42	-.04

## (1) Pooled Conformity and Intelligence

The coefficients of correlation were not in the expected direction. Therefore, the hypothesis that conformists would tend to have a low level of intelligence was not supported. Contrary to the expectation, the correlations were positive between conformity and Intelligence (Table 17). But the values for both Males and Females were so low that probability of chance factor could not be ruled out. In the case of Females the correlation coefficient approximated zero value. No definite conclusion could be drawn from the data.

TABLE 17

## Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Intelligence

Sex	Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>r</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>p</u>
Male	Pooled Conformity	50	8.94	+.13	48	ns
	Intelligence		5.58			
Female	Pooled Conformity	50	11.12	+.01	48	ns
	Intelligence		5.62			

## (ii) Behavioural Conformity Score and Intelligence

The intelligence scores yielded similar relationships with the behavioural index of conformity (Table 18). One variable could explain at most one percent variance in the other variable. Due to the extremely low magnitude of correlation coefficients, no definite conclusion could be drawn.

TABLE 18

Correlation between Behavioural Conformity Score  
and Intelligence

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Behavioural Conformity		9.22			
		50		+ .11	48	ns
	Intelligence		5.58			
-----						
Female	Behavioural Conformity		10.46			
		50		+ .01	48	ns
	Intelligence		5.62			

## (iii) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Intelligence

The correlation of intelligence with the second component of Pooled Conformity Score - Attitudinal index, was also in the same direction and inconclusive. In the case of females the correlation was almost zero. The values are given in Table 19.

TABLE 19

Correlation between Attitudinal Conformity Score  
and Intelligence

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Attitudinal Conformity		-.46			
		50		+.12	48	ns
	Intelligence		5.58			
-----						
Female	Attitudinal Conformity		+.86			
		50		+.01	48	ns
	Intelligence		5.62			

Summary

The results failed to support a negative relationship between Conformity and Intelligence. Extremely low values of correlation were found in the positive direction. All the three indices - Pooled Conformity Score, Behavioural Conformity Score and Attitudinal Conformity Score yielded negligible correlation coefficients and, therefore, no conclusion could be drawn from the data regarding the relationship.

Conformity and Conservatism

The dimension of conservatism and radicalism refers to the views and values of the individual regarding all that is traditional. In the case of conformity a high score denoted more conformity and a low score less conformity. In case of conservatism, conservatives were on the low end of the continuum

and radicals were on the high end. Conformists were hypothesized to be more conservative and, therefore, a negative correlation was expected between the two variables. The data were checked for skewness and its not being high ( Table 20 ) justified the use of Product Moment Correlation.

TABLE 20  
Statistics for Conservatism-Radicalism  
Distribution

Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Skewness
Male	50	5.62	1.46	+.25
Female	50	5.06	1.64	+.26

(1) Pooled Conformity Score and Conservatism

The male sample and the female sample coefficients of correlation were in the opposite direction. For males the hypothesized negative correlation between conformity and conservatism was obtained. For the female sample the relationship found was positive (Table 21). In both the cases, the correlations approximated zero and did not rule out the possibility of chance factors. The experimenter was not able to draw any conclusion regarding the nature of the relationship.



TABLE 21

Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Conservatism

Sex	Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>r</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>p</u>
	Pooled Conformity		8.94			
Male		50		-.04	48	ns
	Conservatism		5.62			
-----						
	Pooled Conformity		11.12			
Female		50		+.04	48	ns
	Conservatism		5.06			

## (11) Behavioural Conformity Score and Conservatism

On breaking the Pooled Conformity Score into Behavioural and Attitudinal indices and correlating conservatism with Behavioural Conformity Score once again values tended to approximate zero (Table 22). The possibility of chance factors not being ruled out these correlations could not be taken as representatives of a true relationship between the two variables.

TABLE 22

Correlation between Behavioural Conformity Score and  
Conservatism

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	<u>r</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>p</u>
	Behavioural Conformity		9.22			
Male		50		+.04	48	ns
	Conservatism		5.62			
-----						
	Behavioural Conformity		10.46			
Female		50		+.03	48	ns
	Conservatism		5.06			

(iii) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Conservatism

The correlation coefficients between conservatism and Attitudinal Conformity Scores were again extremely low and the probability of chance factors influencing the data could not be ruled out. For males the r was slightly higher than what had been reported so far, and was in the expected direction. But even this value was not high enough to enable the experimenter to reach some firm conclusion regarding the relationship. The values can be found in Table 23.

TABLE 23

## Attitudinal Conformity Score and Conservatism

Sex	Group	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Attitudinal Conformity		-.46			
		50		-.15	48	ns
	Conservatism		5.62			
-----						
Female	Attitudinal Conformity		+.86			
		50		+.04	48	ns
	Conservatism		5.06			

Summary

The data failed to reveal an inverse relationship between Conservatism and conformity. The values reported were of extremely low magnitude and no consistent direction of relationship could be assessed from the results. At most, one variable could account for only two percent variance of the other variable, and this too could have been due to chance. All three indices of conformity behaviour failed to reveal the expected inverse relationship between the two variables.

Conformity and Conventionality

Conventionality refers to the extent of responsibility felt by the individual in his affairs. It denotes practical mindedness, practical needs and narrowed interests. It was hypothesized that conformists would tend to be more conventional. The high end of the dimension had unconventionality and the low end conventionality, whereas in the case of conformity the high end depicted more conformity and the low end less conformity. Therefore, a negative correlation was expected between the two variables. Since data were not found to be badly skewed (Table 24) Product Moment correlation was used to test the relationship.

TABLE 24

## Statistics for Conventionality Distribution

Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Skewness
Male	50	5.58	1.38	+.26
Female	50	4.86	1.80	-.07

## (1) Pooled Conformity Score and Conventionality

The relationship between conformity and conventionality was low but in the expected negative direction (Table 25). The correlation not being significant the probability of recurrence was not high but the trend of the findings was in the hypothesized direction.

TABLE 25

Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Conventionality

Sex	Group	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Pooled Conformity		8.94			
		50		-.24	48	ns
	Conventionality		5.58			
-----						
Female	Pooled Conformity		11.12			
		50		-.17	48	ns
	Conventionality		4.86			

## (ii) Behavioural Conformity Score and Conventionality

Correlations of Conventionality Scores with the behavioural aspect of conformity were again in the negative direction but below the level of significance (Table 26). In the case of females the  $r$  was negligible.

TABLE 26

Correlation between Behavioural Conformity Score and  
Conventionality

Sex	Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>r</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>p</u>
	Behavioural Conformity		9.22			
Male		50		-.19	48	ns
	Conventionality		5.58			
-----						
	Behavioural Conformity		10.46			
Female		50		-.08	48	ns
	Conventionality		4.86			

(iii) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Conventionality

The attitudinal index of conformity behaviour yielded higher correlation coefficients. In the case of females the r reached the five percent level of confidence ruling out chance factors, (Table 27). The interesting finding that correlations were higher with attitudinal index of conformity behaviour than with the behavioural index, indicated that the attitudinal index of conformity behaviour might reach deep-lying trends of conformity more effectively. Thus the relationship with personality variables might be different for the two aspects of conformity.

TABLE 27

Correlation between Attitudinal Conformity Score and  
Conventionality

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
	Attitudinal Conformity		-.46			
Male		50		-.25	48	ns
	Conventionality		5.58			
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>						
	Attitudinal Conformity		+.86			
Female		50		-.29	48	<.05
	Conventionality		4.86			

### Summary

The data failed to reach the statistical criterion, but a negative relationship was found between conformity and conventionality. The trend of the findings was in the expected direction, but the relationship was not large enough to rule out the probability of chance factors. Attitudinal conformity score yielded higher correlation coefficients than behavioural conformity score.

### Conformity and Confidence

Confidence implies trust and reliance on oneself. The measure of confidence in this study ( 16 PF Test ) placed confidence on the low end of the dimension and lack of confidence on the high end. Since conformists were hypothesized

to lack confidence, a positive relationship was expected between the two variables. The relationship was tested by Product-Moment correlation as the distributions were found to be near-normal (Table 28).

TABLE 28

## Statistics for Confidence Distribution

Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Skewness
Male	50	5.22	2.18	+.12
Female	50	5.66	1.92	+.06

## (1) Pooled Conformity Score and Confidence

In accordance with the expectation a positive relationship was found to exist between Pooled Conformity Scores and Confidence scores. Conformists tended to exhibit a lack of confidence (Table 29). The findings being significant the possibility of chance factors was ruled out.



TABLE 29

Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Confidence

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Pooled Conformity	50	8.94	+.46	48	< .01
	Confidence		5.22			
Female	Pooled Conformity	50	11.12	+.47	48	< .01
	Confidence		5.66			

## (11) Behavioural Conformity Score and Confidence

The behavioural index of conformity yielded similar relationship with confidence (Table 30). The two variables were found to be associated. Large amounts of one variable tended to accompany large amounts of the other variable.

TABLE 30

Correlation between Behavioural Conformity Score and Confidence

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Behavioural Conformity	50	9.22	+.39	48	< .01
	Confidence		5.22			
Female	Behavioural Conformity	50	10.46	+.29	48	< .05
	Confidence		5.66			

## (iii) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Confidence

The confidence scores were correlated with the second component of the Pooled Conformity Score - Attitudinal Conformity. The findings supported a positive relationship between conformity and confidence (Table 31). Coefficients of correlation were higher with attitudinal conformity score than with behavioural conformity score. Females showed this difference in a marked way. The correlation between behavioural index of conformity and confidence reached the five percent level of significance; whereas the  $r$  between attitudinal conformity and confidence was significant at one percent level.

TABLE 31

Correlation between Attitudinal Conformity Score and Confidence

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Attitudinal Conformity	50	-.46	+.41	48	<.01
	Confidence		5.22			
Female	Attitudinal Conformity	50	+.86	+.52	48	<.01
	Confidence		5.66			

Summary

The results suggest that conformity behaviour and confidence are positively related to each other. Conformists showed a lack of confidence. The findings also gave the suggestion

that attitudinal index of conformity behaviour yielded higher degree of relationship with the personality variable of confidence than the behavioural index.

### Conformity and Dominance

The dominance-submissiveness dimension is related to the field of interpersonal relations. Dominance implies having control over others and asserting oneself, whereas submissiveness indicates easy yielding to others and accepting their opinions. Since this personality factor referred to interpersonal behaviour disposition, it was hypothesized to be related to conformity behaviour. Conformists were expected to be submissive. As has been pointed out in section II conformity distributions showed negligible skewness. Dominance distributions were also near-normal, as shown in Table 32. This justified the use of simple Product Moment correlation.

TABLE 32

#### Statistics for Dominance-Submissiveness Distribution

Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Skewness
Male	50	5.98	2.18	+ .06
Female	50	4.82	1.58	- .08

## (1) Pooled Conformity Score and Dominance

The correlation coefficients showed conformity and dominance to be negatively related (Table 33). High scores on conformity dimension were associated with submissiveness and low scores with dominance. The relationship being significant probability of recurrence was high.

TABLE 33

Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Dominance

Sex	Groups	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>r</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>p</u>
Male	Pooled Conformity		8.94			
		50		-.56	48	<.01
	Dominance		5.98			
-----						
Female	Pooled Conformity		11.12			
		50		-.53	48	<.01
	Dominance		4.82			

## (11) Behavioural Conformity Score and Dominance

The behavioural index of conformity yielded similar relationships with dominance scores. Conformists were found to be submissive and Low conformity scorers were found to be dominant. The findings have been summarized in Table 34.

TABLE 34

Correlation between Behavioural Conformity Score and Dominance

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Behavioural Conformity		9.22			
		50		-.38	48	<.01
	Dominance		5.98			
<hr/>						
Female	Behavioural Conformity		10.46			
		50		-.56	48	<.01
	Dominance		4.82			

## (iii) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Dominance

The scores on submissiveness-dominance dimension were correlated with attitudinal index of conformity behaviour. The expectation that conformity and dominance would be inversely related was substantiated by the findings (Table 35). Large amounts of one variable tended to accompany small amounts of the other variable.

TABLE 35

Correlation between Attitudinal Conformity Score and Dominance

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Attitudinal Conformity		-.46			
		50		-.59	48	<.01
	Dominance		5.98			
<hr/>						
Female	Attitudinal Conformity		+.86			
		50		-.33	48	<.05
	Dominance		4.82			

### Summary

The data suggest an inverse relationship between conformity and dominance. The three indices of conformity behaviour - Pooled Conformity Score, Behavioural Conformity Score and Attitudinal Conformity Score - yielded similar relationships and strengthened the conclusion that conformists tended to be submissive.

### Conformity and Group-dependence

Group-dependency vs. Self-sufficiency is another personality factor in the field of interpersonal relationships. A group-dependent person seeks support from others while a self-sufficient person relies on himself. The measure of this factor, the 16 PF Test, places group-dependence on the lower end of the dimension and self-sufficiency on the higher end. Since conformists were hypothesized to <sup>be</sup> group-dependent, a negative relationship was expected between the two variables. As is obvious from Table 36, the data revealed negligible skewness and so the use of the 'Pearson  $r$ ' was justified.

TABLE 36

Statistics for Group-dependency vs. Self-sufficiency  
Distribution

Groups	N	Mean	SD	Skewness
Male	50	5.74	1.82	-.13
Female	50	5.30	1.88	+.05

## (1) Pooled Conformity Score and Group-dependence

The Product-Moment correlation revealed an inverse relationship between Conformity and Group-dependence (Table 37). High scores on conformity dimension were associated with group-dependence and low scores with self-sufficiency. The correlations were large enough to rule out the possibility of chance factors.

TABLE 37

Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Group-dependence

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
	Pooled Conformity		8.94			
Male		50		-.50	48	<.01
	Group-dependence		5.74			
	Pooled Conformity		11.12			
Female		50		-.55	48	<.01
	Group-dependence		5.30			

## (11) Behavioural Conformity Score and Group-dependence

On breaking the Pooled Conformity Score into two components - Behavioural Conformity Score and Attitudinal Conformity Score - and correlating group-dependence scores with the former, negative relationships were again found (Table 38). Conformists were found to be group-dependent and Low conformity subjects were found to be self-sufficient.

TABLE 38

Correlation between Behavioural Conformity Score and  
Group-dependence

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
	Behavioural Conformity		9.22			
Male		50		-.41	48	<.01
	Group-dependence		5.74			
	Behavioural Conformity		10.46			
Female		50		-.54	48	<.01
	Group-dependence		5.30			

(iii) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Group-dependence

The second component of the Pooled Conformity Score - the Attitudinal Conformity - yielded similar relationship with the factor of group-dependence. High conformity was associated with group-dependence and Low conformity with self-sufficiency. As is obvious from Table 39 the values had high probability of recurrence.

TABLE 39

Correlation between Attitudinal Conformity Score and  
Group-dependence

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
	Attitudinal Conformity		-.46			
Male		50		-.46	48	<.01
	Group-dependence		5.74			
	Attitudinal Conformity		+.86			
Female		50		-.41	48	<.01
	Group-dependence		5.30			



### Summary

The results show an inverse relationship between conformity and group-dependence. The conclusion that conformists tended to be group-dependent was supported by all the three indices of conformity behaviour - Pooled Conformity Score, Behavioural Conformity Score and Attitudinal Conformity Score.

### Conformity and Ego-strength

Ego-strength refers to the ability to control impulses and tensions and to tolerate frustration. In the Cattelleian theory this personality dimension is related to the emotional stability of the individual. Ego-strength implies calmness and stability. Before testing the degree and direction of the relationship between conformity and ego-strength the data were checked for skewness. Section II has shown conformity distributions to be near-normal. As can be seen from Table 40, ego-strength distributions also revealed negligible skewness.

TABLE 40

#### Statistics for Ego-strength Distribution

Groups	N	Mean	SD	Skewness
Male	50	5.74	1.64	-.22
Female	50	5.18	1.76	-.09

## (1) Pooled Conformity Score and Ego-strength

Ego-strength and conformity revealed an inverse relationship (Table 41). High conformity was associated with low ego-strength and low conformity with high ego-strength. In this study, it has been found that conformists tended to be anxious and showed a lack of confidence. They were also low in ego-strength. The inverse relationship between conformity and ego-strength was slightly higher in case of females as compared to males, but in both cases the values ensured high probability of recurrence.

TABLE 41

Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Ego-strength

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
	Pooled Conformity		8.94			
Male		50		-.49	48	<.01
	Ego-strength		5.74			
-----						
	Pooled Conformity		11.12			
Female		50		-.60	48	<.01
	Ego-strength		5.18			

## (11) Behavioural Conformity Score and Ego-strength

The behavioural index of conformity yielded similar relationships with the dimension of ego-strength. Conformists were found to be low in ego-strength (Table 42). The coefficients of correlation were above the chance level.

TABLE 42

Correlation between Behavioural Conformity Score and Ego-strength

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
	Behavioural Conformity		9.22			
Male		50		-.42	48	<.01
	Ego-strength		5.74			
	Behavioural Conformity		10.46			
Female		50		-.59	48	<.01
	Ego-strength		5.18			

## (111) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Ego-strength

The attitudinal aspect of conformity also revealed similar relationships. Conformity was found to be associated with low ego-strength as seen in Table 43. Large amounts of one variable tended to be accompanied with small amounts of the other variable.

TABLE 43

Correlation between Attitudinal Conformity Score and Ego-strength

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
	Attitudinal Conformity		-.46			
Male		50		-.43	48	<.01
	Ego-strength		5.74			
	Attitudinal Conformity		+.86			
Female		50		-.45	48	<.01
	Ego-strength		5.18			

### Summary

The results suggest a negative relationship between conformity and ego-strength. Conformists tended to be low in ego-strength. This conclusion was strengthened by the three indices of conformity behaviour - Pooled Conformity Score, Behavioural Conformity Score and Attitudinal Conformity Score - which yielded similar relationships.

### Conformity and Shyness

In the Cattelleian theory of personality shyness implied timidity and restraint of behaviour. Shyness referred to lack of boldness and social spontaneity. In the present study conformists were hypothesized to be shy and restrained and, therefore, a negative relationship was expected between the two variables. The distributions not being badly skewed (Table 44) Product-Moment correlation was used.

TABLE 44

#### Statistics for Shyness Distribution

Groups	N	Mean	SD	Skewness
Male	50	5.94	1.54	-.55
Female	50	4.74	2.08	-.26

## (i) Pooled Conformity Score and Shyness

The 'Pearson  $r$ ' revealed a positive relationship between the two variables, contrary to the expectation. The hypothesis that conformists would tend to be shy and restrained was not supported by the data. The values were in the opposite direction but so low that probability of chance factors affecting the results could not be ruled out and no conclusion could be drawn from the data. The results have been summarized in Table 45.

TABLE 45

Correlation between Pooled Conformity Score and Shyness

Sex	Group	N	Mean	$r$	df	p
Male	Pooled Conformity		8.94			
		50		+0.07	48	ns
	Shyness		5.94			
-----						
Female	Pooled Conformity		11.12			
		50		+0.08	48	ns
	Shyness		4.74			

## (ii) Behavioural Conformity Score and Shyness

The behavioural index of conformity also failed to provide any conclusion. The correlations approximated zero value (Table 46). The values being extremely low in magnitude and therefore negligible; no conclusion could be derived from the results.

TABLE 46

## Correlation between Behavioural Conformity Score and Shyness

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Behavioural Conformity	50	9.22	+.02	48	ns
	Shyness		5.94			
Female	Behavioural Conformity	50	10.46	+.02	48	ns
	Shyness		4.74			

## (iii) Attitudinal Conformity Score and Shyness

The relationship between attitudinal aspect of conformity and shyness was again very low and could not rule out the possibility of chance factors. One variable predicted not more than two percent variance of the other variable as shown in Table 47; the coefficients were below the level of chance.

TABLE 47

## Correlation between Attitudinal Conformity Score and Shyness

Sex	Groups	N	Mean	r	df	p
Male	Attitudinal Conformity	50	-.46	+.11	48	ns
	Shyness		5.94			
Female	Attitudinal Conformity	50	+.86	+.17	48	ns
	Shyness		4.74			

### Summary

The data failed to reveal an inverse relationship between conformity and shyness. Extremely low positive relationship was found between the two variables. All the three indices of conformity behaviour yielded negligible correlations and, therefore, no conclusion could be drawn regarding the relationship on the basis of the present study.

### IV. Profiles

Profiles of High Conformity and Low Conformity subjects were prepared in terms of the nine personality variables - Anxiety, Intelligence, Conservatism, Conventionality, Confidence, Dominance, Group-dependence, Ego-strength and Shyness.

#### (1) Preparation of Male Profiles

The conformity scores of Males were divided on the basis of the conformity median (mdn = 8.91). Twenty-five subjects scoring at or above the median constituted the High Conformity group. Similarly twenty-five subjects scoring below the conformity median constituted the Low Conformity group. Means of High Conformity and Low Conformity groups were worked out for the nine personality variables. These means were converted into z scores (Garrett, 1965)\*. Profiles of High Conformity group and Low Conformity group were prepared separately. These profiles were plotted on the same axes to make comparison easier. The means on personality variable; and corresponding z scores can be found in Table 48.

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\*  $z = \frac{x - m}{s}$

TABLE 48

Means and  $\bar{z}$  scores in terms of Personality Variables  
for High Conformity and Low Conformity

## Males

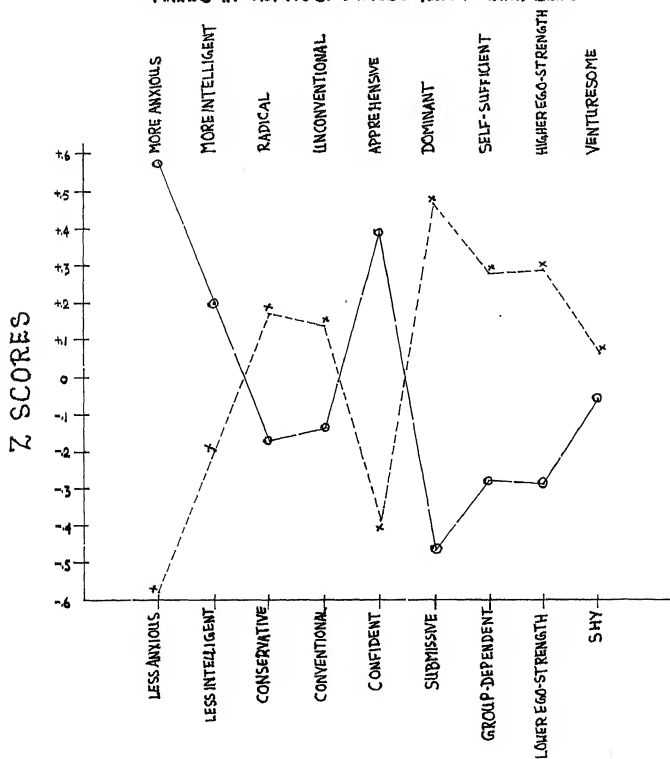
Low Score Description of Personality Variables	Low Conformity Group		High Conformity Group		High Score Description of Personality Variables
	Mean	$\bar{z}$ score	Mean	$\bar{z}$ score	
Low level of Anxiety	25.88	-.58	47.44	+.58	High level of Anxiety
Less Intelligent	5.36	-.20	5.96	+.20	More Intelligent
Conservative	5.88	+.17	5.44	-.17	Radical
Conventional	5.72	+.14	5.28	-.14	Unconventional
Confident	4.52	-.39	6.16	+.39	Apprehensive
Submissive	6.92	+.47	4.88	-.47	Dominant
Group-dependent	6.44	+.28	5.36	-.28	Self-sufficient
Lower Ego-strength	6.28	+.29	5.40	-.29	Higher Ego- strength
Shy	6.12	+.06	5.92	-.06	Venturesome



# FIGURE 7

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## PROFILES OF HIGH CONFORMITY AND LOW CONFORMITY MALES IN TERMS OF PERSONALITY VARIABLES



— HIGH CONFORMITY GROUP

- - - LOW CONFORMITY GROUP

## (ii) Interpretation of Male Profiles

The High Conformity and Low Conformity groups were compared for the personality patterns as reflected in the profiles. The total picture supported the analysis done so far. High Conformity and Low Conformity groups differed markedly in their anxiety level. Conformists were more anxious as compared to Low Conformity subjects. The dominance-submissiveness dimension also reflected marked differences. Conformists were more submissive. Apprehensiveness was a marked characteristic of conformists and confidence characterized the Low Conformity group. High Conformity group was more group-dependent and possessed less ego-strength. The rest of the variables - Intelligence, Conservatism, Conventionality and Shyness - yielded small differences between High Conformity and Low Conformity groups.

## (iii) Preparation of Female Profiles

The conformity scores of Females were also divided on the basis of the conformity median (10.90). The means of High Conformity group and Low Conformity group were worked out for the nine personality variables and converted into z scores. The means of the nine personality variables and the corresponding z scores have been given in Table 49.

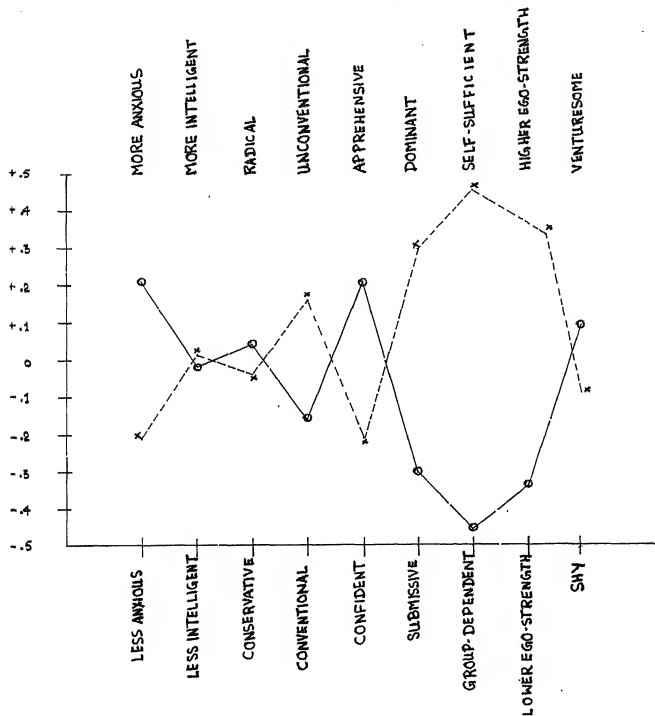
TABLE 49

Means and  $\bar{x}$  scores in terms of Personality Variables  
for High Conformity and Low Conformity  
Females

Low Score Description of Personality Variables	Low Conformity Group		High Conformity Group		High Score Description of Personality Variables
	Mean	$\bar{x}$ score	Mean	$\bar{x}$ score	
Low level of Anxiety	34.48	-.21	41.36	+.21	High Level of Anxiety
Less Intelligent	5.56	+.01	5.52	-.01	More Intelligent
Conservative	5.04	-.04	5.16	+.04	Radical
Conventional	5.04	+.16	4.44	-.16	Unconventional
Confident	5.36	-.21	6.12	+.21	Apprehensive
Submissive	5.20	+.30	4.24	-.30	Dominant
Group-dependent	6.04	+.46	4.40	-.46	Self-sufficient
Lower Ego-strength	5.68	+.34	4.56	-.34	Higher Ego- strength
Shy	4.52	-.09	4.88	+.09	Venturesome

## FIGURE 8

# PROFILES OF HIGH CONFORMITY AND LOW CONFORMITY FEMALES IN TERMS OF PERSONALITY VARIABLES



— HIGH CONFORMITY GROUP  
 - - - LOW CONFORMITY GROUP

#### (iv) Interpretation of Female Profiles

The comparison of the Female Profiles showed that High and Low conformity groups revealed the largest difference in the dimension of group-dependence. High conformity females were markedly more group-dependent as compared to Low conformity females who were found to be self-sufficient. Lack of ego-strength and submissiveness were prominent characteristics of High conformity group. The Low conformity subjects were characterised by ego-strength and Dominance. Anxiety and lack of confidence were found to be more on the side of High Conformity group. The Low Conformity group displayed a low level of anxiety and a high level of confidence. Differences on the variables of Intelligence, Conservatism, Conventionality and Shyness were small in size.

#### Summary of the Findings

The findings of the present study dealing with personality correlates of conformity behaviour have been summarized below:-

1. Marked sex differences were found in the conformity behaviour of males and females. The females were significantly more conforming than males.
2. Conformity was found to be positively correlated with the anxiety level of the subject. Conformists tended to be more anxious. The relationship was more marked in the case of males than in the case of females, but the difference failed to reach the level of significance.

3. Findings did not yield the hypothesized negative correlation between conformity and intelligence. Conformists were not found to be less intelligent. The findings were in the opposite direction but so low and negligible that no conclusion could be drawn.
4. In case of conformity behaviour and its relation to conservatism-radicalism, the findings did not support the hypothesis that conformists would tend to be more conservative. The findings were too low and haphazard to draw any conclusion.
5. The findings did not support the hypothesis that conformists would tend to be more conventional. The coefficients were in the expected direction, however, though not statistically significant.
6. The findings yielded insignificant correlation coefficients between conformity behaviour and confidence, supporting the hypothesis that conformists would tend to be less confident.
7. As hypothesized conformity was negatively related to submissiveness-dominance variable. The findings supported the hypothesis that conformists would tend to be more submissive in their interpersonal behaviour.
8. The findings yielded negative correlation between conformity and group-dependency vs self-sufficiency variable. Conformists were found to be more group adherent.

9. The hypothesized negative relationship between conformity and ego-strength was supported by the findings. Conformists were found to be low in ego-strength.
10. The findings did not yield the hypothesized negative correlation between conformity and shyness. The hypothesis that conformists would tend to be shy and restrained was not supported. The coefficients were in the opposite direction but so low and negligible that no conclusion could be drawn.
11. When the total conformity scores were subdivided into two measures of Conformity Behaviour, one dealing with the behavioural aspect of conformity and the other with the attitudinal aspect, these two measures revealed different degrees of correlations with some personality variables. But in all the cases the direction of the coefficients remained the same for the behavioural and attitudinal measures of conformity behaviour.
12. Although there was statistically significant difference in the Conformity Behaviour of males and females, sex did not inter-act with personality variables. The relationship between conformity and personality variables did not show significant differences for males and for females.

## CHAPTER V

## DISCUSSION



The present study was concerned with analysing certain personality correlates of conformity behaviour. In the present chapter the findings would be discussed and an effort would be made to develop a model of those high and low in conformity.

Conformists were found to be anxious, apprehensive, submissive, group-dependent and having low ego-strength. Those who were low in conformity were relatively less anxious, confident, dominant, self-sufficient and possessed relatively higher degree of ego-strength. The chapter has been divided into sub-sections, dealing with the relationship of each personality factor with conformity behaviour. Towards the end sex differences in conformity behaviour and behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conformity have been discussed.

#### Conformity and Anxiety

It was hypothesized that conformists would be high on anxiety. The present study confirmed this.

This finding falls in line with the observations of other investigators. Sinha (1952) found that non-conformity produced tension and anxiety in the subject. Asch (1952) has reported that even the strongly independent subject felt uneasy when he found that he was going against the judgement of others. Hoffman (1957) has shown that conformity serves a defensive function. It reduces the anxiety level and also avoids its onset. The feeling of insecurity, lack of confidence and inferiority feelings are characteristics of an anxious person. Non-conformity on the part of such a person enhances these

feelings. Anxiety is the self-inflicted punishment for non-conformity and falling in line with the group provides reassurance. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) found that conformists tended to have a high anxiety level. Darley (1966) has also reported that an increase in fear and tension caused increased conformity.

The crucial role that anxiety can play in conformity behaviour has also been demonstrated in Back's (1970) study. It was found that neither the injection of chlordiazepoxide-hydrochloride nor manipulation of group composition yielded clear cut results unless the subjects were divided according to initial ratings of anxiety. Initially more anxious subjects who were administered the drug and who were tested as strangers showed greater conformity to group pressure and a continuous increase in physiological arousal. Working on a sample of 55 subjects Naidu and Sinha (1972) found conformity to be a positive function of anxiety.

Group pressures on the individual tend to arouse him emotionally. Some individuals seeing the gross discrepancy between their own judgement and that of the group tend to feel dejected, depressed and isolated. If the sharp discrepancy between the individual judgement and group judgement appears threatening to him, either because he fears some punishment for his deviation or because he cannot make sense of the discrepancy, he is likely to develop feelings of anxiety. The easy way out of the tension would be to conform, thereby avoiding anxiety. A person who deviates in a group pressure situation, feels uncomfortable, has a general disorganization

of cognitive processes, has high anxiety level and is less capable of making a cool rational judgement. In order to reduce tension he conforms. He finds assurance in agreeing with others. Non-conformity on his part would enhance his tension and anxiety and conformity would help in allaying it.

In this investigation the test of anxiety purported to measure manifest anxiety. Janis (1955) has shown that different types of anxiety are differently related to persuasibility. A high degree of socially oriented anxiety-shyness, fear of being criticised, low self-confidence in relationship with other people - gives rise to high persuasibility. But a high degree of neurotic anxiety gives rise to low persuasibility. Persuasibility is a form of conformity. Now looking at the items of anxiety test used here, it is found to contain socially oriented items. Sinha (1965) does not purport to measure anxiety in the clinical sense. Anxiety seems to have three dimensions, physical, interactional and non-specific psychological. Since the test deals with socially oriented items a positive relationship between conformity and anxiety was expected in the present study and this was supported by the finding.

The relationship between conformity behaviour and anxiety was found to be more marked in case of males ( $r = +.62$ ) than in the case of females ( $r = +.34$ ). A perusal of the findings reveals that females tended to score higher than males on conformity as well as on anxiety. Therefore it was expected that the relationship would be more marked in case of females.

However the results of the present finding did not support this expectation. Since the difference between the  $r$ 's of males and females was insignificant it can not be stated categorically that the relationship was more pronounced in the case of males.

### Conformity and Confidence

This study revealed conformists to be less confident than independents. The results supported the expected relationship between the two variables ( Male  $r = +.46$ , Female  $r = +.47$ ).

Confidence implies firm trust, fully assured expectation and surity in a person. A person who is confident has faith in himself and in his capacity to deal with things. He is placid, secure and resilient with unshakable nerve. In the Cattelleian theory self-confidence, cheerfulness and resilience are characteristics of tough, placid, expedient and self-assured individual. On the other end is a person lacking confidence, apprehensive, worried and depressed with a childlike tendency to anxiety in difficulties.

Looking at the conformity situation, it could be said that the experimental measures of conformity implied conflict for the subject. In case of Mood Judgement Test those photographs of human faces had been selected that did not depict pleasant or unpleasant expression strikingly. The expression on these faces was ambiguous. Similarly Form Judgement Test employed coloured forms, neutral in nature, not depicting either end of the dimension clearly. With such material extreme ratings could not be given. In the experimental situation, however, the two confederates gave unanimous extreme judgements.

This created conflict for the subject. He knew that another rating would have been more suitable for the photograph than the one his colleagues were backing. Either he could yield to the group or he could voice his individual judgement in spite of disagreement with the other group members. It was a question of weighing 'individual reality' against 'social reality'. Placed in a situation like this, a person who lacked trust and confidence and was insecure and worried was more likely to act according to the group opinion. He lacked confidence in himself to stand independently and disagree with others. Whereas a firm and secure person who believed in himself was more likely to think that he was right in spite of his being different from others. This has been shown to be the case in the present study.

The finding that conformists tend to lack confidence, is in accordance with the observations of other investigators. Smith (1961) has reported that yielding on judgements made on Galton Bar was a function of the degree to which subject felt confident in his judgement. In his intensive study of conformity and personality, Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) has reported that conformists were inclined toward pronounced feelings of personal inferiority and inadequacy. They lacked self-confidence and had less insight and realistic approach in their self-perception. Ratings also showed conformists to be unable to make decisions without vacillation or delay, being hesitant all the time. Conformists were described as having a readiness to feel guilty. Costanzo (1970) showed that self-blame and conformity were highly

interrelated processes. Trickett (1971) found that the level of achievement motivation, difficulty of discrimination task and presence or absence of confidence enhancing information yielded significant main effects with regard to the amount of conformity behaviour. White and Kernaleguen (1971) selected twenty deviant and twenty non-deviant college women on the basis of skirt-length and found the deviants to be psychologically more secure than the conformists. Thus previous researches support the present finding that conformists tend to lack confidence.

Confidence in one's judgement and behaviour is related inversely to anxiety and consequently to conformity also. A person who lacks confidence is insecure and apprehensive. These traits are related to a high anxiety level too. Lack of confidence makes one prone to anxiety. Confidence rules it out. Hoffman (1957) has pointed out that feelings of insecurity, lack of confidence and inferiority feelings are characteristics of an anxious person. Non-conformity on the part of such a person increases these feelings. A person who is anxious, troubled, depressed and insecure does not have the guts to voice his own opinion. Lacking faith in himself, he believes others to be right and yields to the group pressure. Conformity serves a compensatory function for an anxious and nervous person. Falling in line with the others - merging in the group - avoids the onset of anxiety and imparts confidence to those who initially lack it.

In case of conformity and confidence it was found that the attitudinal index of conformity yielded higher values than the behavioural index. In case of females the relationship was more marked with attitudinal conformity (+ .52) than with behavioural conformity (+ .29). This difference though not significant points to the fact that the attitudinal aspect could have reached the conformity tendency more adequately than the behavioural aspect.

#### Conformity and Dominance

The findings showed that high conformity was associated with submissiveness. Low conformity subjects were placed toward the dominance end of the dimension.

Dominance implies assertion, self-assurance and independent mindedness. Such a person can afford to disregard authority. He can be stubborn and aggressive compared to a submissive person who is humble, and accommodating. The submissive individual tends to give way to others, he is anxious for obsessional correctness, and is likely to conform with the ideas, opinions and behaviour of the group. In interpersonal relationship one can be dominant or submissive making the existence of the leader and the led possible. Dominance means having a commanding influence or being the most conspicuous member or part or feature of something. Submission implies accepting without resistance the orders or opinions of others or giving way or yielding to authority.

Conformity bears a close relationship with the trait of dominance-submissiveness. An individual having a submissive

personality can easily yield to group pressures in conformity situation. When he finds that he is going to disagree with others he is in a fix, but he quickly gets out of it by resorting to the opinions of others. He can sacrifice his 'individual reality' for 'social reality' because yielding to others is an easier practice for him than remaining independent. For a dominant person accepting others' opinion or yielding to the group judgement is difficult. He is used to giving opinions and influencing others, to leading not being led. It is difficult for him to switch from his dominant role to a submissive one in conformity situation. This has been shown in the present study. Conformists were found to be more submissive, whereas those who remained independent were more dominant.

Similar conclusion has been reached by Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962). He found that conformists showed suggestibility, passivity and dependence upon others. In terms of ratings conformists were described as respecting authority, submissive, compliant and 'overly accepting'. They were more responsive to other people's evaluations rather than their own and allowed others to exploit them. Mann (1959) has reviewed researches on conformity. Eight findings have been reported relating conformity to dominance. The trend of all the findings was in a negative direction, yielders were found to be less dominant. Levy (1959) also showed dominance to be negatively related to conformity behaviour. The findings failed to reach the criterion of statistical significance but the trend was suggestive of a negative relationship between the two



variables. In a study of activists ( expressively alienated form of non-conformity ), Whittaker and Watts (1971) found activists to be high on dominance and achievement. In this way, empirical researches in the field lend support to the present finding and strengthen the conclusion that conformists tend to be submissive.

#### Conformity and Group-dependency

Clear-cut relationship was also observed between conformity and group-dependency. High conformity was found to be associated with group-dependency and low conformity with self-sufficiency.

A group-dependent individual prefers to work and take decisions with other people. He likes and depends upon social support and admiration. He tends to go along with the group and may be lacking in individual resolution. On the other end is a self-sufficient, resourceful person, accustomed to going his own way, temperamentally independent, making decisions and acting on his own. He does not dislike people but simply does not need their agreement or support.

Conformity situation involves either yielding to the group pressure at the cost of one's opinion or retaining one's own opinion and disregarding the others. In such a situation a group-dependent person who needs group support and leans on others is more likely to conform. This has been demonstrated in the present study.

Observations by other investigators have also shown that dependency, affiliation and approval motives play a crucial

role in conformity behaviour. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) has reported that conformists exhibited "passivity, suggestibility and dependence upon others." To quote Crutchfield an independent is "self-reliant, independent in judgement, able to think for himself" but a conformist is "suggestible, overly responsive to other people's evaluations rather than his own." Krebs (1958) hypothesized that the earlier the occurrence of independence training during childhood, more resistant the individual would be to group pressure to conform. His findings supported this hypothesis. The development of the dependence pattern of personality depends to a considerable extent upon early experiences and parental behaviour. The child who has not had the training of independence to a late stage leans on his parental figures, or his friends or teachers for support. Such an individual tends to depend upon others if placed in a conflict situation. Children who have had early training in independent behaviour know that standing on their own feet is more valuable.

Similar results have been obtained with regard to affiliation and approval motives. Hardy (1957) found conformity to be a joint function of affiliative motivation and condition of social support. Moeller and Applezweig (1957) found that subjects with high social approval and low self-approval yielded more to group pressure. Levy (1959) found that affiliation was positively related to conformity behaviour. Klein (1967) found that subjects who conformed consistently to the same authorities, shared the superficial approval orientation

but also had more general approval needs and lower self-esteem.

Group-dependency is closely related to the factor of dominance in the field of interpersonal relationships. A dominant person is more likely to be independent-minded whereas group-dependency and submissiveness go together. In this respect the present study has yielded consistent results regarding the factors in interpersonal field. Conformity had submissiveness and group-dependency as its correlates. Independence was found to be related to dominance and self-sufficiency.

#### Conformity and Ego-strength

This study demonstrated conformists to have lower ego-strength as compared to independents. The relationships observed were large enough to rule out the probability of chance variables (Male  $r = -.49$ , Female  $r = -.60$ ).

An individual who is low in ego-strength is affected by feelings, is emotionally less stable, easily upset, changeable, plastic, fretful and low in frustration tolerance. An individual having more ego-strength is calm, mature, emotionally stable and faces reality. In the conformity situation a calm and stable person can judge the pros and the cons of the situation whereas an emotionally unstable individual is more likely to yield in a hurry. This has been demonstrated in the present study by finding out that conformity is associated with low ego-strength.

This finding is in consonance with those of Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) who investigated the personality correlates of conformity behaviour. He found

conformists to be low in ego-strength and in ability to cope under stress. To quote Crutchfield "The conformists tend to exhibit emotional constriction, lack of spontaneity, repression of impulse and indirect expression of hostility to a greater degree than do independents." Reviewing the literature on conformity and personality, Mann (1959) has reported that adjustment was negatively related to conformity. The negative end of the adjustment dimension included maladjustment, emotionality, low ego-strength and anxiety.

Loevinger (1966) has conceptualized ego-development in terms of stages, each with its typical manifestations in impulse control, character development, interpersonal relation and conscious preoccupations. The tendency to describe oneself as socially desirable is typical of the conformist stage of ego-development. The psychoanalytic view point attributes internalization of strong inhibitions against expression of aggression, dependency and sexual impulses to ego - the organized, executive subdivision of personality. As a child becomes aware of the reality principle and the ego begins to develop, he acquires a rudimentary ability to test reality, to tolerate tensions, and to postpone gratifications. These abilities are major components of ego-control capacity or ego-strength and enable the individual to cope adequately with frustrations and to control impulses. With further development of ego-control capacity there is increased recognition of, and adjustment to culturally defined reality. These individuals who lack ego-control capacity are more likely to depend on others and yield to group-pressure and

this can be seen to be the case in the present investigation.

On the basis of this study certain personality correlates of conformity behaviour can be worked out. To recapitulate, conformity is associated with anxiety, lack of confidence, submissiveness, group-dependency and low ego-strength. A conformist tends to have a high level of anxiety and tension, he is unable to cope under stress and is emotionally unstable. This along with a lack of confidence in himself makes him seek the support of others and lean on them. He becomes submissive and yields easily to group pressure. Low conformity or independence, on the other hand, correlates with confidence, ego-strength and low level of anxiety. Dominance and self-sufficiency go along with the above mentioned emotional traits. A low-conformity individual is calm and mature, with faith in himself and is not worried about group-support. He tends to dominate others, to lead rather than be led. In any society all levels of conformity are found, making the existence of the society possible, because for the well-being of any group conformists as well as independents are needed to maintain the balance.

The relationship of conformity behaviour was also studied with intelligence, conservatism, conventionality and shyness. On these factors consistent findings were not obtained. The relationship of conformity and the above mentioned four factors would be discussed below. Each factor would be discussed separately in relation to conformity.

### Conformity and Intelligence

In the present study it was hypothesized that intelligent subjects with their capacity for abstract thinking and higher scholastic mental ability would be more adept at maintaining their independence and would not agree blindly with others. This expected negative relationship was not demonstrated by the findings. Instead of the negative relationship a low positive correlation was found between conformity behaviour and intelligence. The coefficients of correlation were extremely low for both males and females ( Male  $r = +.13$ , Female  $r = +.01$  ).

Since the data did not reveal the expected inverse relationship between conformity and intelligence, a possible deduction could be that conformists, contrary to the expectation, tended to be more intelligent. This conclusion, however, could not be drawn because of the negligible correlation coefficients. The values were so low that one variable predicted at most only one percent variance of the other variable and this too might have been due to chance. Therefore no conclusion regarding the relationship could be drawn from the data of this study.

As has been pointed out earlier, there are not many conclusive findings in the field of conformity and intelligence. Disagreement prevails regarding the nature of relationship. Samelson (1957) studied the relationship between conformity and personality and reported that intelligence as measured by scores on the American Council of Education Test showed no relationship with conformity behaviour. Crutchfield (Kresh, Crutchfield and Ballahey, 1962) however, reported that the correlation of conformity with scores on Concept Mastery Test was  $- .50$ .

This raises strong doubts regarding the nature of the measure of intelligence. Is the measure of intelligence employed in this study - The 16 PF Test - measuring intelligence in the same sense as the Concept Mastery Test ? Terman's Concept Mastery Test (1956) is a measure of ability to deal with abstract ideas at a high level. Its purpose is to measure intellectual functions similar to the Stanford-Binet Test (1960). Thus it is highly saturated with the general factor (g). It aims to measure mental ability of superior and gifted individuals in early maturity. Cattell's 16 PF Test (1962), on the other hand, extends the factorial approach to the study of personality. Intelligence is one of the 16 major dimensions of personality that are measured by it. A low scorer on this factor tends to be slow to learn and grasp, dull and given to literal interpretations. His dullness may be simply a reflection of low intelligence or it may represent poor functioning due to psychopathology. A high scorer is bright, quick to grasp ideas and possesses high scholastic mental capacity. There is some correlation with the level of culture and some with alertness. High scores contra-indicate deterioration of mental functions in pathological conditions. In the Cattelleian theory, intelligence carries with it ratings of conscientious, persevering, intellectual and cultured. Dullness, on the other hand, is associated with lower morals, quitting and boorish.

Intelligence, according to the Cattelleian view point covers more than the cognitive functioning. "There is ample evidence that the individual's level of general intelligence powerfully

affects the pattern of personality outside the boundaries of what is commonly thought of as cognitive activity. This is illustrated, for example, by contrasting the field of research inquiry pursued by researchers thinking of general ability in terms of stereotype g in its purely intellectual context, with the field that opens up when we think of it here as B i.e., as a personality factor among personality factors, with its demonstrated relation to such personality manifestations as conscientiousness, character integration, breadth of interests, etc." (Cattell, 1950). Cattell himself admits that at times the 16 PF Test should be supplemented by other measures of intelligence. "However, in most situations psychologists will be called upon simultaneously to select for high general intelligence and high creativity of personality. The Culture Fair scales should be administered along with the 16 PF or HSFQ in order to intensify and broaden the measured evaluation of intelligence." (Cattell and Eber, 1963). The equivalence coefficient of Factor B (intelligence) was found to be low (.38). The lower value of B, as compared to other factors, may be due to restriction of range in the college group. It can also be that this factor needs a longer than ten item scale for its measurement. To quote Cattell and Eber (1962), "Since it is unusual to measure any single factor, such as intelligence, by only ten to thirteen items, users of the 16 PF should remember that this is what they are doing when they use only one form."

Thus, it can be seen that the Cattelleian measure of intelligence has some limitations. These might account for



the inconsistent finding in the present study. In the field of intelligence general disagreement still continues regarding the nature of intelligence and what an intelligence test should measure. Therefore vastly different tests are listed under the general heading of intelligence which do not agree with each other. This leads to different results with different measures of intelligence.

#### Conformity and Conservatism

Since the behaviour of a conformist denotes accepting the opinions of others or group norms because of their traditional or majority value it was expected in this investigation that conformists would tend to be more conservative. This was not found to be the case. Extremely low values of correlation were found between these variables (Male  $r = -.04$ , Female  $r = +.04$ ). The coefficients were so small in magnitude that no conclusion could be drawn regarding the relationship between conformity and conservatism.

Conservatives tend to be confident in what they have been taught to believe and accept the tried and true despite inconsistencies when something else might be better. They are cautious and compromising in regard to new ideas. Radicals tend to be interested in intellectual matters and have doubts on fundamental issues. It was hypothesized that radicals with their doubting nature would not accept the group opinion easily in the conformity situation. But the present investigation failed to demonstrate a definite relationship between these two variables. However, looking keenly into the matter, it can be seen that conservatives

respect and value traditional ideals. The experimental situation in conformity measures is not related to traditions. Cattell's basic idea of conservatism is related to traditions and established practices. The conformity measuring procedures employed in this study do not have much bearing on this aspect of conformity. This might account for the inconsistent finding. Moreover, Mann (1959) has pointed out that no single measure of conservatism dimension emerges as especially potent predictor of conformity in all the conditions. Perhaps better results can be obtained if the conservatism measure in the present study is supplemented by other measures.

#### Conformity and Conventionality

This investigation failed to demonstrate conformists as being more conventional. The relationships observed were small (Male  $r = -.24$ , Female  $r = -.17$ ) but in the expected direction. An insignificant finding does not necessarily mean that the two variables are not correlated. The trend of the finding should also be taken into consideration. Looking at the trend in this study it can be said that the expected relationship was found but it was not large enough to reach the statistical criterion. A more elaborate study using other measures besides those employed in the present study and a wider sample might yield better results. Since the relationship is there, though weak in nature, it calls for further investigation.

The conventionals are practical, careful and regulated by external realities. They are proper, anxious over detail and correctness, able to keep their heads in urgencies but unimaginative. Unconventionals have inner-directed interests, are

self-motivated, bohemian and imaginatively creative. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) pointed out that conformists tend to have more conventional values but the converse does not necessarily hold true. Highly conventional individuals can often be quite able to resist conformity pressures. He also found conformists to have interest patterns similar to those professions which placed more stress on social conventional values. The interest patterns of independents resembled those of persons in occupations calling for artistic and scientific originality. Mann (1959) has shown that there was some indication that conventional subjects were more likely to yield than the unconventional. In this study also the relationship, though small, was indicated.

Breaking the pooled conformity score into its two components behavioural and attitudinal, higher relationship was observed with the attitudinal aspect (Female  $r$  with behavioural conformity =  $-.08$ , Female  $r$  with attitudinal conformity =  $-.29$ ). This not only gave evidence of two differing aspects of conformity behaviour but also showed that attitudinal index of conformity probably touched the conformity trait more adequately.

#### Conformity and Shyness

The expected relationship was not observed between conformity and shyness in this study. Conformists were not found to be shy and restrained (Male  $r$  =  $+.07$ , Female  $r$  =  $+.08$ ). The values being negligible in magnitude, no conclusion could be drawn from the data regarding the relationship.

Shy individuals are diffident, timid, withdrawing and self-conscious. They tend to be slow and impeded in speech and expression, and prefer one or two friends to large groups. Venturesome persons are socially bold, uninhibited, spontaneous and abundant in emotional response. Shy, restrained and timid individuals are not likely to disagree with the group or take their own stand boldly in a social situation. Therefore it was presumed that shyness would turn out to be a personality correlate of conformity behaviour, but neither this nor the obverse of the hypothesis was observed in the present investigation. The values obtained were so low that no conclusion regarding the association of the two variables could be drawn.

In the present investigation consistent relationships could not be established between conformity and intelligence, conservatism, conventionality or shyness. The above sections make an attempt to account for this. Moreover, one must not forget that in the area of conformity and personality there are both plenty of consistent findings, as well as a number of inconsistent findings. To quote only a few, Endler (1958) found no relationship between conformity and the personality measures used (Edwards Personal Preference Scale and Public Opinion Survey). Thorne (1962) reported insignificant findings. None of the results of birth-order, anxiety or rejection significantly influenced conformity scores. Using an Asch type situation Appley and Moeller (1963) found practically no relationship between conformity and personality variables from different inventories and profiles. Phelps and Meyer (1966) tested the

subjects for conformity and then gave them Edwards Personal Preference Scale. Since only three of the forty-five rank order correlations were statistically significant, it was concluded that these could have occurred as a function of chance. A difficulty in the area of conformity and personality is that a variety of personality measures are available. Ratings, check-lists, questionnaires, objective tests and projective tests are frequently used to assess personality traits. These various measures do not agree with each other, at times, for the same trait. Different investigators have made use of different personality measures and at times results obtained by one measure are not supported by those obtained by another measure. This diversity of measures can account for inconsistent findings in the field of conformity and personality.

#### Sex Difference in Conformity Behaviour

In the present investigation sex difference in conformity behaviour was also studied. Since the cultural pattern of India demands more conformity and norm adherence from females than from males it was hypothesized that females would tend to be more conforming than males. The findings substantiated this expectation ( $t = 2.45, p < .05$ ).

The finding is in consonance with the observations of other investigators. Fromilla Kapur (1970) has pointed out that in our country obeying social pressure, conventional behaviour, following the elders and submissiveness is appreciated in girls. Indian traditions clearly outline the

subordinate position of wife and much tension is avoided, thus, in marital relationships. In almost all spheres of life a man plays a dominant and self-assertive role whereas submissiveness and conformity are characteristics of a woman. Janis and others (1959) have supported the personality factor of 'general persuasibility'. Females were found to be more persuasible than males. Patel and Gordon (1960) studied factors associated with acceptance of suggestion and they found girls to be higher in suggestibility. Using visual discrimination problems Tuddenham (1961) found female subjects to yield more to distorted group judgements than males. Crutchfield (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962) has reported that females consistently earned higher conformity scores than males. The difference tended to increase as the testing session continued. Iscoe, Williams and Harvey (1963) and Carrigan and Julian (1966) also found females to be more conforming and influencible. Sistrunk (1971) obtained similar findings in a factorial study of Negroes and Whites in which females were found to be more yielding than males.

These findings point out the fact that on the Western as well as Indian scene, there is a profound difference in the definition of sex roles in regard to the matter of conformity. The typical feminine role tends to be defined as involving promulgation of the conventional values of culture, dependence upon the group, submissiveness to the male and avoidance of disagreement with others in the interest of group harmony. The typical masculine role tends to lay more stress on the ideals of self-sufficiency, self-assertion and independence of thought.

In India, the fact that woman has less freedom than man is quite pronounced, but the Lib Movement of the western countries shows that even in the west women feel that they have less freedom and liberty than men. Studying the sex difference in personality between American men and women Terman and Miles (1936) found that males directly or indirectly manifested greater self-assertion and aggressiveness. Females expressed themselves as more compassionate and sympathetic, more timid and fastidious and severer moralists. The biologically determined differences are, to use the phrase of Mead (1949) 'culturally elaborated'. Sex differences are culturally moulded during infancy and childhood.

#### Behavioural and Attitudinal Aspects of Conformity

An important aspect of the present investigation was that two aspects of conformity behaviour were taken into account. The first one dealt with the behavioural side of conformity. A person when put in actual group pressure situation could either yield or not yield to group pressure. Had he yielded he would have demonstrated conformity by his behaviour - he would have behaved in a conforming manner. The procedures introduced by Asch (1952) and Crutchfield (1954) were behavioural in nature as they judged the extent of conformity from the behaviour of the subject. In this investigation Mood Judgement Test and Form Judgement Test were developed on the lines of Asch (1952). In both tests the subject was seated with two confederates of the experimenter. Certain photographs and coloured forms were shown to the three of them. On certain critical trials the confederates

gave unanimous responses and it was seen whether the subject agreed with them or not. Thus in both measures conformity was assessed from the actual behaviour of the subject. Combined score on these two measures provided the behavioural aspect of conformity.

The attitudinal aspect assessed conformity through the attitude of the subject toward non-conformity. The subject was shown sketches in which a group of individuals was behaving in a certain manner and one individual was deviating from the rest. The subject had to judge the behaviour of the deviant individual as 'proper' or 'improper'. It was assumed that in judging the behaviour of the deviant individual as 'proper' or 'improper' the subject would tend to project his own attitude toward conformity and this would provide a deeper approach to conformity. A conformist would be more likely to judge non-conformity as 'improper' and conformity as 'proper'. His own tendency of conformity would provide the anchorage from which he would judge the behaviour of the individual shown to him pictorially.

In this study it was found that behavioural and attitudinal indices of conformity yielded different degrees of relationships with personality factors in some cases. The differences between correlations with the two indices were not significant, but a trend existed. Mostly the attitudinal index was found to yield higher coefficients. It is possible that the attitudinal index assessed conformity more adequately because with this measure the subject did not experience the restrictions and tension of the behavioural measure. In case of behavioural



measures subject was conscious all the time of the experimenter and the two confederates. He could have managed to control his reactions and his behaviour might have become artificial. With an attitudinal measure, the subject did not think that his ability was being tested, he was merely asked to judge the behaviour of someone else and by doing so he would have reflected his own conforming tendency. Since in this study the two aspects of conformity behaviour were not studied thoroughly and systematically, a safe conclusion at present would be that there is some indication of two different aspects of conformity - behavioural and attitudinal.

A number of interesting questions have remained un-answered in the present investigation. There is some evidence of two different aspects of conformity, but the relationship of the two sides ought to be explored intensively. An investigation designed to deal with the two aspects in a systematic manner would be more revealing. It would not only bring to light the relationship between the attitudinal and behavioural aspects but will also shed light on whether conformity is a unitask or a multiplex variable. Moreover, if it can be decided which aspect is a more stable predictor of performance it would help further investigations in the field. Therefore, more systematic studies in this direction are called for.

This study has pointed out certain personality variables associated with conformity behaviour but it has not provided conclusive evidence for some other factors. A more elaborate study using a number of tests would be more revealing. Furthermore

a factor analytic study in the area of conformity and personality would not only help us to isolate personality traits associated with conformity behaviour but would also demonstrate the relative importance of each personality trait in determining conformity behaviour.

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## Appendix A

### Original Instructions in Hindi for Conformity Tests

#### Mood Judgement Test.

आप लोगों के ऊपर में एक प्रयोग करने जा रही हूँ। इस खिड़की के द्वारा मैं बहुत कम समय के लिये मनुष्यों के चेहरों की कुछ तस्वीरें दिखाऊंगी। हर तस्वीर की देख कर आपको बताना है कि उस चेहरे पर आपका कैसा भाव दिखाई पड़ा। आपके सामने पांच उतर 'बहुत सुखद' से लेकर 'बहुत दुःखद' तक हैं। इनमें से वह उतर जो आपको देखे गये चित्र के लिये ठीक लगता हो उसके बागे सही (✓) का निशान लगा दीजिये। हर चित्र दिखाने के पहले मैं रैडी कहूंगी जिससे सुन कर आप अपना सारा ध्यान इस खिड़की पर लगा दीजिये क्योंकि चित्र बहुत कम समय के लिये दिखाया जायेगा। यह याद रखिएगा कि जिससे मैं पूछूँ वही व्यक्ति उतर दे और उतर देने के बाद ही कागज पर निशान लगाए।

#### Form Judgement Test.

अब इस खिड़की से मैं आपको कुछ रंगीन चित्र दिखाऊंगी। ये चित्र भी बहुत कम समय के लिये दिखाये जायेंगे। हर चित्र देख कर आपको बताना है कि वह आपका कैसा लगा। प्रत्येक चित्र के लिये एक कला बात बतानी है। पहले चित्र के लिये आपके सामने 'बहुत स्पष्ट' से लेकर 'बहुत अस्पष्ट' तक पांच उतर दिये गये हैं। इन पांचों में से जो उतर आपको चित्र के लिये ठीक लगे उसके बागे सही (✓) का निशान लगा दीजिये। एक चित्र देखने के बाद बाद जब आप निशान लगा चुके तो पन्ना फलट दीजिये। अगले चित्र के लिये आपको जो बताना है वह सामने आ जायेगा। मेरे रैडी कहने पर सारा ध्यान इस खिड़की पर लगा दीजिये। इस प्रयोग में भी यह ध्यान रखिये कि मैं जिस व्यक्ति

से पूर्ण वही उत्तर है और उत्तर देने के बाद ही कागज पर सही का निशान लगाए ।

#### Picture Conformity Test.

जब मैं आपकी कुछ रेखाचित्र दिखाऊंगी । इन रेखाचित्रों में कुछ लोग दिखाये गये हैं जो एक साथ कुछ काम कर रहे हैं और एक व्यक्ति है जो इन सबसे भिन्न काम कर रहा है । अर्थात् एक व्यक्ति अपने समूह के साथ मिल कर नहीं चल रहा है । आपकी कताना है कि आपकी इस व्यक्ति का व्यवहार कैसा लगा । आपकी सामने उत्तर तालिका में 'बहुत उचित है' से लेकर 'बहुत अनुचित है' तक पांच उत्तर हैं । इनमें से जो उत्तर आपकी इस व्यक्ति के व्यवहार के बारे में ठीक लगे उसके जो सही (✓) का निशान लगा दीजिये ।